CHAUCER

THE PROLOGUE

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CHAUCER'S

CANTERBURY TALES

THE PROLOGUE

EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

ALFRED W. POLLARD

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PREFACE.

THE lines on which this edition of Chaucer's Prologue to the Canterbury Tales is compiled have been determined by a happy conjunction of my own inclination and an external cause. After it had been begun, Dr. Liddell, one of my collaborators in the 'Globe' Chaucer, edited also for Messrs. Macmillan, though primarily for the Macmillan Company of New York, an edition of the Prologue and the Tales of the Knight and the Nun's Priest. When his book was announced, a dislike of even seeming to compete with a friend who had given me such valuable help in a previous undertaking made me wish to abandon my own task. But on studying Dr. Liddell's edition I found that there was no possibility of any work of mine coming into collision with it, and that its existence made my own task easier. While Dr. Liddell has given a useful minimum of illustrative notes, he has put his main strength into an exposition of Chaucer's practice as regards phonology, grammar, and syntax, which seems to me by far the ablest dissertation on the subject yet published. To this, therefore, I can now happily refer all students who desire advanced instruction in the linguistic aspect of Chaucer's poetry. My own interest in Chaucer is not linguistic, but literary and historical. I have, therefore, given (in addition to a full glossary) what

I hope will be found (to repeat the phrase) a useful minimum of information as to Chaucer's grammar, and have devoted myself chiefly to annotating the *Prologue*, more especially those of its allusions which touch on English life in the 14th century. For understanding this life the *Prologue* is by far the most valuable document that has come down to us. But to get back oneself, and to help others to get back, to the standpoint from which Chaucer's contemporaries first read these sketches, are no easy tasks. This must be the excuse, or rather, I am bold to say, the justification, for the length and occasionally the complexity of some of my notes. To meet the case of younger students I have marked off large portions of many of the notes by square brackets, and I hope that no examiner will ever be wicked enough to ask small boys and girls any questions on these bracketted paragraphs. To my thinking it is impossible for children to read the Tales of Grisilde and Constance, and the Little Choir-Boy too early. They appeal to them much more than most of the lyrics they are made to learn by heart, and the language of these Tales presents no difficulty. If the *Prologue* is read simultaneously by these young students it should be read rapidly, merely to get a general idea of what the Pilgrims were like, and the manner of their journey. But for senior boys and girls in English schools, and for the young men and women at the many colleges in the United States of America where Chaucer is studied, I venture to think that time spent in working out the precise meaning of line after line of the *Prologue* will be far from wasted. Here, rather than in histories of the wrangles of Richard II. and his uncles, they can learn what sort of a country England was to live in five

centuries ago, and from Chaucer's *Prologue* they may start their studies not only of modern English literature but of English social history.

In editing Chaucer's *Prologue* on these lines I have incurred many obligations. First of all I would mention those I owe to Dr. Richard Morris, Professor Skeat, and Professor Hales. It is a peculiar pleasure to me to link together these three names, for they are all connected with King's College School, which has always been honourably distinguished for the attention it has paid to English literature. When I entered the school, nearly three and thirty years ago, it was in Richard Morris's form. He taught me no Chaucer by word of mouth, but it was in his edition (after he had left King's) that I studied the Prologue and Knight's Tale under Professor Hales, and in those of Professor Skeat (an old K.C.S. boy) that I read first of Constance and Grisilde. If the youthful zeal with which I studied these text-books has made the information I gained from them seem so much a part of my general stock of knowledge that I have in any case omitted in later days editorial acknowledgment, I hope this general confession may win me forgiveness. No tribute can be too great either to the pioneer work of Dr. Morris, to the erudition of Dr. Skeat (though here and there in my notes I may be found temerariously criticizing him), or, I may add, to the contagious enthusiasm of Professor Hales and the skill which he has brought to the elucidation of some notable 'cruxes' in Chaucer's text. Professor Hales has added one more to his many kindnesses to his old pupil by reading the proofs of my notes and supplying me with several valuable fresh illustrations. Mr. W. W. Greg has

rendered me a like service. Dr. Furnivall (besides the general obligations he has conferred on all students of Chaucer), Abbot Gasquet, Mr. Henry Jenner, Dr. Wickham Legg, Dr. J. F. Payne, Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith, and Mr. Robert Steele, have all supplied me with notes or suggestions on difficult points. To Mr. Jenner I am also indebted for the little excursus on 'Chaucer's Astrology,' which is inserted in my Introduction, not, I may repeat, to be learnt, but solely for reference. I would also acknowledge my debt to the Oxford English Dictionary, to two very important collections of Chaucer Notes contributed by Dr. Ewald Flügel to *Anglia*, to Dr. Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life in the Fourteenth Century*, to Mr. John Saunders' *Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, and generally to all my predecessors in editing or illustrating Chaucer. My final word of gratitude is due to Messrs. Macmillan for their patience with an editor who has taken nearly four years over a little book which he fully expected to finish in as many months.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

I. LIFE OF CHAUCER.

GEOFFREY CHAUCER[1] was the son of John Chaucer,[2] a London vintner. He was born probably a little before 1340, and if his father had the same wife and the same

[1] An attempt has recently been made to derive the name Chaucer from Chauffe-cire, *i.e.* Chaff-wax, the name of an official charged with making impressions from the large seals then in use. But Mr. R. E. G. Kirk writes: 'After considering all that has been written on the subject I think preference must be given to the view that it originally meant "shoemaker." It was the French form of the Latin "calcearius," a term used in early French records for a follower of St. Crispin. As this Latin form was not used in England, so far as we know, we may infer that the Chaucers came over from France, perhaps in the reign of Henry III., when the name is first met with; and they probably came with wines, for they traded here as vintners, having apparently abandoned their primitive occupation; yet some of these vintners, including Chaucer's immediate ancestors, took up their abode in Cordwainer Street, London, the settlement of the English shoemakers, or "cordubanarii"' (*Life Records of Chaucer*, IV., by R. E. G. Kirk, 1900, p. vii). Thames Street, where the poet was probably born, was in the vintners' ward.

[2] John Chaucer was himself the son of a Robert le Chaucer, who in 1310 was one of the collectors of Customs in the Port of London. In 1324 John Chaucer (his father being then dead, and his mother

house then as some years later, the poet's mother was a certain Agnes, niece of Hamo de Compton, and his birthplace was in Thames Street. John Chaucer at one period acted as deputy to the King's Butler in the port of Southampton, and he may have had some slight influence at court. In any case our first certain information about the poet is a record of some clothes supplied to him while in the household of Elizabeth de Burgh, Countess of Ulster, in her own right, and wife of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III. Fragments of her Household Accounts, accidentally preserved, show that in April, 1357, when the Countess was in London, a short cloak, a pair of red and black breeches, and shoes, were then provided for Geoffrey Chaucer at a cost of seven shillings.[1] In December of the same year, when the Countess was at her house at Hatfield, in Yorkshire, two shillings and sixpence were paid to Geoffrey Chaucer "for necessaries for Christmas." These sums are small compared to other similar payments recorded, and probably show that

having married a Richard le Chaucer) was carried away by some kinsfolk who wished to marry him to a wife of their own choosing, apparently in order to secure the wardship of a small property near Ipswich to which he was entitled. For this they were fined heavily and from a petition which they subsequently presented to Parliament for the fine to be reduced, we learn that in 1328 John Chaucer was still unmarried. Geoffrey Chaucer, therefore, cannot have been born in that year as used formerly to be stated. The reasons for fixing his birth at a little before 1340 are (1) his own statement in the Scrope suit that he was "forty years old and more" in 1386, and (2) the probability that he was only a lad while in the service of the Countess of Ulster.

[1] The purchasing power of money in Chaucer's day is variously estimated as between ten and fifteen times what it is now.

Chaucer did not hold any very high position in the Countess's household.

In 1386 the poet was a witness in a suit between Richard, Lord Scrope, and Sir Robert de Grosvenor, as to the right to a certain coat of arms. In his evidence he said that he had himself borne arms for twenty-seven years, *i.e.* since 1359, and that he had then, when before the town of "Retters" (Rethel, near Rheims), seen Henry le Scrope using the coat in question, until he himself was taken prisoner. From another document we learn that on 1st March, 1360, Edward III. contributed the then considerable sum of £16 to Chaucer's ransom, and it is probable that either before he went to the war, or soon after his release, the poet was taken into the King's Household, for in 1367 the King, in consideration of his past and future services, granted him a pension of twenty marks [1] as one of the Yeomen of his Chamber. Two years later we hear of Chaucer as one of the King's Esquires "of less degree."

In 1369 Chaucer received an advance of £10 from the Keeper of the King's Wardrobe 'at the beginning of the war' with France, but this need not imply that he took any part in the campaign. The following year he was abroad on the King's service, though we do not know where or on what employment. In November, 1372, he was joined in a commission with two citizens of Genoa, to treat with the Duke, citizens, and merchants of that place for the choice of some port in England where Genoese merchants might settle and trade. For his expenses he was allowed an advance of 100 marks, and

[1] £13 6s. 8d., or upwards of £200 present value. One mark is equal to 13s. 4d.

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further sums were paid him during his expedition and after his return to London, which took place on 23rd May, 1373. The accounts which he delivered show that he had both men and horses in his service.

On St. George's day, 1374, the King, then at Windsor, granted Chaucer a pitcher of wine daily. This the poet subsequently commuted for a pension of 20 marks. In May he leased from the Corporation of London the dwelling-house over the gate of Aldgate, and here he probably made his home for the next twelve years. In June he was appointed Controller of the Custom and Subsidy of Wool, Skins, and Hides in the Port of London, with the obligation to keep the accounts and records of his office with his own hand and to be continually present. In the same month he was granted by John of Gaunt a pension of £10, for services rendered by himself and his wife, Philippa. As we shall see, one of the services which Chaucer had rendered the Duke was that on the death of the Duchess in 1369 he had written a poem in her honour. What Philippa Chaucer had done, and who she was, and when Chaucer married her, are points still uncertain.[1]

[1] This pension granted in 1374 to Philippa and her husband seems to have been only a renewal of one of the same amount which John of Gaunt had given to her in her own right two years previously. She is probably to be identified with the Philippa Chaucer who in 1366 was in the service of the Queen and received from Edward III. a small pension. Unless, which is very unlikely, she was a relation of the poet before her marriage, she must as early as this have been his wife, and there is some slight evidence for believing her to have been a daughter of Sir Payne Roet of Hainault. If so, she was sister to the Katharine Roet who, after the death of her husband, Sir Hugh Swynford, became the third wife of John of Gaunt, in whose family she had been governess, and this would help to account for

During these years Chaucer's prosperity was continually on the increase. In 1375 he was granted two wardships. The office of a guardian at that time had many profitable perquisites attached to it, and one of these wardships subsequently brought Chaucer over one hundred pounds. In 1376, again, the King made him a present of over seventy pounds, the value of some wool forfeited at the Customs for not paying duty. The records of other payments show that in this same year Chaucer was employed as one of the retinue of Sir John Burley on some secret mission; that in February, 1377, another secret mission took him to Flanders with Sir Thomas Percy; and that later in the same year he was employed in France, probably with the King's ambassadors who were then negotiating a peace. The accession of Richard II. in June, 1377, only increased Chaucer's prosperity. Early in the next year he probably took part in another mission to France, to negotiate Richard's marriage with a daughter of the French King, and in the following May, having appointed two friends, one of whom was John Gower the poet, as his agents during his absence, he started with Sir Edward Berkeley on a mission to Lombardy to negotiate with Bernabo Visconti, Lord of Milan (of whose tragic death he subsequently wrote), and the famous free lance, Sir John Hawkwood. Of what happened on the mission we know nothing, but Chaucer's accounts show that he started on May 28th and returned to London on September 19th, and that

the favours which Chaucer received on many occasions from John himself and subsequently from his son, Henry IV. According to another theory Philippa was herself a Swynford, and sister to Sir Hugh.

his total expenses were £80 13s. 4d. It is believed that with this expedition to Lombardy his career as a diplomatist came to an end. For the next six years he seems to have had little relief from the monotony of his duties as Controller of the Customs and Subsidies. In April, 1382, he was appointed Controller also of the Petty Customs of the Port of London, but this office he was allowed to exercise by deputy, and in February, 1385, the same privilege was permitted him in regard to his old Controllership, from which he had been allowed a month's leave of absence at the end of the previous year. Chaucer had now reached the height of his prosperity, and his position as a man of substance is shown by his appointment in October, 1385, as one of the Justices of the Peace for Kent, and his sitting as a Knight of the Shire for the same county in the Parliament which met at Westminster in October, 1386. But his increased importance made him a mark for bad fortune as well as good. His patron, John of Gaunt, was now in Spain; the chief place in the Government fell to the Duke of Gloucester, and Chaucer soon felt the effect of this change. A commission was appointed to inquire into the state of the King's revenue and expenses, and in December we hear of the appointment of successors to Chaucer in both his Controllerships. Other misfortunes followed. Sometime in the second half of 1387 it is probable that he lost his wife, there being no record of any payment of her pension after June of that year. In May, 1388, he was driven to assign away both his own pensions from Edward III., presumably receiving a lump sum in exchange for them. But in May, 1389, Richard II. suddenly took the reins of government into his own

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hand, John of Gaunt returned to England, and Chaucer was appointed in the following July Clerk of the King's Works at the Palace of Westminster, the Tower of London, and elsewhere, at a salary of two shillings a-day, and with power to appoint a deputy. In March, 1390, he was named with five others as a commissioner for the repair of the roadway on the banks of the Thames between Greenwich and Woolwich, and he was probably the Geoffrey Chaucer who, about this time, was appointed one of the foresters of North Petherton Park in Somersetshire, a post in the gift of the Earl of March, a grandson of the Prince Lionel and Countess Elizabeth, who had been the poet's earliest patrons.

In September, 1390, Chaucer was robbed by two, or possibly three, different gangs of thieves. Of the money he then lost twenty pounds belonged to the King, and this was pardoned him, but the proceedings against the thieves dragged on through the early months of 1391, and must have caused Chaucer some annoyance. In June and July, 1391, he had a worse misfortune, being superseded in both his clerkships of the Works, and we have no knowledge of how he lived for the next three years. In 1394, perhaps as a result of a half pitiful, half humorous poem which he wrote to his friend Scogan, from some place on the Thames, to which his commissonership had taken him, he obtained from Richard II. a new pension of twenty pounds. In 1395-96 he may possibly have been in the service of the Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV., but he seems to have continued in needy circumstances; and in 1398 we hear of his being sued for a debt of fourteen pounds, and obtaining protection from his creditors. In October,

1398, Richard, in answer to a petition, in which the old poet asked it "for the sake of God, and as a work of charity," granted him a tun of wine yearly, and thus added one more to the marks of favour he had shown him. Henry IV., when he came to the throne, was not unmindful of Chaucer, and an additional pension of forty marks gave the poet the prospect of ending his days in peace. He now took a long lease of a house in the garden of St. Mary's Chapel, Westminster. His tenure of it, however, was but brief, for he died there on October 25th, 1400, and was buried in St. Benet's Chapel in the Abbey, where a monument erected to his memory in the 16th century still remains, the nucleus of the Poets' Corner which has since become so famous.

As we have noted, Chaucer's wife Philippa had died many years previously, and we know little for certain as to his children. In 1391 he had written a treatise on the Astrolabe (an instrument for ascertaining the position of the stars) for the use of a little son, Lewis, who was then ten years old, and it is probable that he was also the father of an Elizabeth Chaucer, for whose reception at the Abbey of Barking John of Gaunt paid a considerable sum in 1381, and also of a Thomas Chaucer, who in the next century appears as a man of wealth and importance. But we hear nothing more of Lewis Chaucer, while the connection of Thomas[1] and Elizabeth with the poet is still not absolutely proved.

Almost all the facts which we have been able to set forth relating to Chaucer's life have been derived

[1] Mr. Kirk thinks that Elizabeth Chaucer was the poet's sister, and revives an old theory of Speght's that Thomas Chaucer may have been only an adopted son.

from entries of payments made to him in Royal Accounts still extant, or from similar entries in the registers of the City of London. As to how far the references in these documents are exhaustive we have no means of telling. Of themselves they point to a life of considerable activity and varied interests. At the Court and on his foreign mission Chaucer would have become acquainted with princes and nobles, soldiers and diplomatists. On his campaigns he learnt the meaning of war, and may have seen the inside of a French prison. His daily work at the Customs would have brought him into contact with the shipmen and merchants of many nations. As Clerk of the King's Works, he had the superintendence of carpenters and other artizans. We have traces also of his friendship with several of the poets and writers of his own day, with the English Gower, with whom, however, he seems to have quarrelled in his old age, with the French Froissart and Sir Otes de Graunson, a small poet, from whom he translated some verses, and lastly with the great Italian Petrarch, whom, during his first expedition to Italy, he met at Padua, and there learnt from him the story of the patience of Griselda (see *infra*, p. xxv). Advantageous, however, as in these respects was the work by which he earned his living, it made great inroads on the time which he could give to his poetry. From 1370 to 1372 he may have had a short interval of leisure, but the diplomatic missions of the next seven years appear to have occupied all his energies. When they ceased in 1379 he betook himself again to poetry with enthusiasm, but a passage in his *Hous of Fame* shows that the strain of his double occupation told on him heavily. Here he imagines himself

to be thus addressed by the Eagle, the messenger of Jove:

Wherfor, as I seyde, y-wys,
Jupiter considereth wel this;
And also, beau sir, other thynges;
That is, that thou hast no tydynges
Of Loves folk, if they be glade,
Ne of nothyng elles that God made;
And noght only fro fer contree,
That ther no tydyng cometh to thee,
But of thy verray neyghebores,
That dwellen almost at thy dores,
Thou herest neither that ne this;
For when thy labour doon al is,
And hast y-maad thy rekenynges,
In stede of reste and newe thynges
Thou gost hoom to thy hous anoon,
And, also domb as any stoon,
Thou sittest at another boke,
Til fully daswed is thy looke;
And lyvest thus as an herémyte,
Although thyn abstynence is lyte.

(*Hous of Fame*, ii. 132-152.)

In another poem he speaks again of his love of books, but also of his still greater love for the fresh flower of spring, which alone could tear him from them.

And as for me, though that I konne but lyte,
On bokes for to rede I me delyte,
And to hem yeve I feyth and ful credence,
And in myn herte have hem in reverence
So hertely, that ther is game noon
That fro my bokes maketh me to goon,
But yt be seldom on the holy day,
Save, certeynly, when that the monethe of May
Is comen, and that I here the foules synge,
And that the floures gynnen for to sprygne,—
Farewel my boke, and my devocioun!

(*Legend of Good Women*, 29-39.)

Yet a third passage shows Chaucer to us still with his bookish look about him, though it tells us too that he was somewhat more portly in his person than the typical student of old time.

> Whan seyd was al this miracle, every man
> As sobre was that wonder was to se,
> Til that oure Hostė japen tho began,
> And thanne at erst he lookėd upon me,
> And seydė thus: 'What man artow?' quod he;
> 'Thou lookest as thou woldest fynde an hare;
> For evere upon the ground I se thee stare.
> Approchė neer, and looke up murily.
> Now war yow, sires, and lat this man have place;
> He in the waast is shape as wel as I;
> This were a popet in an arm t'enbrace
> For any womman, smal and fair of face.
> He semeth elvyssh by his contenuance,
> For unto no wight dooth he daliaunce.
>
> (*Canterbury Tales*, Group B, 1881-94.)

Love for his master caused one of Chaucer's followers, Thomas Hoccleve, to have painted alongside of some verses in his honour in a poem of his own (the *Governail of Princes*) an authentic portrait which enables us to complete these verbal pictures. The miniature has been often reproduced, and has rendered familiar to us the appearance of the old poet in his sober dress and hood of black, relieved only by the red strings by which hang his pen-case and beads. The face is rather sad, but kindly; the grey eyes deep set and dreamy, the moustache and the small forked beard are almost white, and a fringe of white hair shows from under the hood. When Chaucer died he was probably somewhat over sixty, and this portrait must show him as Hoccleve knew him in the last years of his life.

II. CHAUCER'S POETRY.

THE ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE. When Chaucer first began to write, translations from the French were still popular, and he was only following the prevalent fashion when he set himself to translate the *Roman de la Rose*. This was a long allegorical poem, which had been begun as a love story about 1237 by Guillaume de Lorris, and was taken up and finished forty years after his death, by Jean Clopinel (or, as he is also called, Jean de Meung) in a spirit of bitter satire against women and the clergy. No other book has left so many traces on Chaucer's writings, both as a source of stories and quotations, and in furnishing the mechanism and scenery (the May Morning, the Dream, and the like) of many of his poems. We know from his own statement (*Legend of Good Women*, 255/329) that he translated it in whole or part, but the only English translation which has come down to us is very incomplete, and is now thought to be made up of fragments of two or three different versions, the first of which is attributed to Chaucer by the best critics, while the authorship of the rest is unknown.

THE DETHE OF BLAUNCHE THE DUCHESSE, PITY, COMPLAINT TO HIS LADY, AND A B C. John of Gaunt's first wife, Blanche of Lancaster, died in November, 1369, and the first original poem of any length by Chaucer which has come down to us is that entitled *The Dethe of Blaunche the Duchesse*, which he wrote in her honour. In the prologue he feigns that in default of sleep, of which a sickness he has 'suffred this eight yere' has bereft him, he reads Ovid's story of how King Ceyx

appeared after his death to his faithful wife Alcione, and then dreams of a May morning and a hunt, amid which he meets a knight, clothed all in black, lamenting under an oak. The knight tells him how he had loved and won the fairest of all ladies, 'the goode, faire White,' as he calls her, and dwells on her beauty and goodness. Now she is dead. The poet dreams that he stammers out a word of sympathy, and then amid the sound of the returning hunt he wakes, and the graceful poem comes to an end.

The suggestion of a hopeless love which had robbed him of health and happiness, made in the prologue to *Blaunche*, is continued in the beautiful little poem, the *Complaint of the Death of Pity*, in which Chaucer writes:

> My peyne is this, that what so I desire,
> That have I not, ne no thing lyk therto;
> And ever set Desire myn herte on fire.
> Eek on that other syde where-so I go.
> What maner thinge that may encrese my wo
> That have I redy, unsoght, everywhere,
> Me ne lakketh but my deth, and than my bere.

Joined on to the *Pity* in two manuscripts is another poem of 128 lines, notable as containing several metrical experiments, among them being the first example of Dante's *terza rima* in the English language. This *Complaint to his Lady*, as it has been called, would seem, from its experimental character, to be purely playful, yet it follows the same line of thought; and to explain these allusions, it has been thought that we must take the eight years' sickness mentioned in *Blaunche* to refer to a real unrequited love, which must have begun in 1361 or 1362, and have lasted after Chaucer's marriage

with Philippa.[1] But we must remember that a hopeless attachment was almost a necessary part of a poet's equipment in these days, and it is perhaps better to rest content with these fine poems, the best of Chaucer's early work, than to attempt to find any personal explanation of them. With them we may mention the devotional verses to the B. Virgin, translated from the *Pelerinaige de la Vie humaine* of Guillaume de Deguilleville, in which each stanza, as in the original, begins with a different letter of the alphabet in due succession, whence its name the A B C. When Chaucer wrote it he was already no mean poet,[2] although the difficulties of translation as yet weighed heavily on him.

LIFE OF S. CECILIA AND STORIES OF GRISELDA AND CONSTANCE. The poems we have looked at so far were all written according to the ideals of the French poetry of Chaucer's day. At what period he first essayed more definitely narrative verse we do not know. The Life of S. Cecilia,[3] which, with the two poems next to be mentioned,

[1] The form in which the pension of 1374 was granted to Chaucer and his wife has suggested a theory that they may not have been married till that year. See note to p. xiv.

[2] The opening stanza may be quoted as a specimen:

Almyghty and al mercyable Queenė,
To whom that al this world fleeth for socour
To have relees of sinne, of sorwe, and teene!
Glorious Virgine, of allė flourės flour,
To thee I flee confounded in errour.
Help and releeve, thou mihti debonayre;
Have mercy on my perilous langour!
Venquisshed me hath my cruel adversaire.

[3] Translated from the Life of the Saint in the *Legenda Aurea* or 'Golden Legend,' by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Geneva.

has come down to us as part of the Canterbury Tales, is immature enough to be the very earliest of his extant works. In the story of the patience of Griselda, which he learnt from Petrarch,[1] there is an immense advance. Griselda is a village maiden whom a Marquis marries for her goodness, and then tortures by pretending to kill her children and divorce herself, in order to see if she will ever rebel against him. Chaucer preserves all that is beautiful in the story, and at the same time conciliates the reader by exclaiming against the cruelty of the Marquis in making such an experiment. In the tale of Constance,[2] the daughter of an Emperor of Rome, who is twice sent to sea in a rudderless boat by the cruelty of a stepmother, he shows himself anxious to embellish his story as much as possible from his own resources. Not only from this, but from the increased mastery of language and rhythm, and some touches of humour, we see that he was feeling his way towards his real strength.

TWELVE TRAGEDIES and THE COMPLEYNT OF MARS. Possibly from lack of better subjects that caught his fancy, Chaucer seems to have followed these early narrative poems with a series of short histories of twelve

[1] The statement,

> I wol yow telle a tale which that I
> Lerned at Padowe of a worthy clerk . . .
> Fraunceys Petrak, the lauriat poete,

is put into the mouth of the Clerk of Oxford, one of the Canterbury Pilgrims, but that it refers to Chaucer himself cannot reasonably be doubted. Petrarch was at Padua in the winter of 1372-73, which Chaucer passed in Italy, and the Clerk's Tale is translated from Petrarch's Latin version of the story.

[2] Taken from the Anglo-French Chronicle of Nicholas Trivet, a Dominican Friar, who had died about 1334.

men and women who had fallen from their high estate. Taking his materials from the Bible and two books by Boccaccio, he wrote the 'tragedies' of Lucifer, Adam, Samson, Hercules, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Zenobia, Nero, Holofernes, Antiochus, Alexander, and Julius Caesar, and then seems to have laid his manuscript aside until he needed a lugubrious tale with which to make his hunting Monk surprise the Canterbury Pilgrims.

One other poem may belong to this period, the *Compleynt of Mars*, founded on the old myth told by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* of the love of the god Mars for the goddess Venus, and its discovery by Phoebus Apollo. This story Chaucer here works out, according to the astronomy of his day, of a conjunction of the planet Mars with the planet Venus in the sign of Taurus, or The Bull, one of the two astrological houses of Venus into which Phoebus or the Sun enters every April. Gossip said that the poem also had reference to an intrigue between the Lady Isabella of York and the Duke of Exeter, but the theory is superfluous, and the poem is humorous and ingenious enough to stand by itself.

CHAUCER'S 'ITALIAN' PERIOD. Since he only started on May 28th, 1378, and was home again on Sept. 19th, Chaucer's stay in Italy during his second diplomatic there (see p. xv) can only have lasted a few weeks. But he must have improved his knowledge of Italian, and it can hardly be doubted that it was from this visit that he brought back three books, the *Divina Commedia* of Dante and the *Teseide* and *Filostrato* of Boccaccio, the influence of which is predominant in the work of the next six years. With the first of these he had probably already a slight

acquaintance,[1] nor had he ever the hardihood to translate it, though he borrows passages, and even, after his fashion, imitated its framework. The *Teseide*, on the other hand, he seems to have taken up at once, beginning a poem on *Queen Anelida and fals Arcite*, which was to have told the loves of Arcyte and Palamon, but which he laid aside after he had written some 350 lines.

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA. With the *Filostrato* Chaucer was more immediately successful, for between 1380 and 1383 he transmuted it into his longest and very beautiful poem, *Troilus and Criseyde*. The story of this goes back to the Trojan War, and tells how Troilus, one of the younger sons of King Priam, was smitten with love for Cressida or Criseyde, the Greek maiden whom the priest Calchas had left behind at Troy when he himself was ransomed; how by the help of her uncle Sir Pandarus he won her affection, and how, lastly, when the fortune of war removed her from Troy, Criseyde proved faithless and gave herself to the Greek prince, Diomede. Written in the seven-line stanza over which he had obtained a complete mastery, Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* is full of human interest and pathos, vivid in colour and the sense of the beauty and fleetingness of life, and if he had written nothing else, by itself it would entitle him to be ranked among the greatest English poets. He takes the story as Boccaccio told it, and humanises and enriches it at every point.

[1] This seems to be proved by the experiment in Dante's *terza rima* in the *Complaint to his Lady* (p. xxiii), and perhaps by the reminiscence of the *Paradiso* (Cant. 33), in the Invocation to the B. Virgin prefixed in the Canterbury Tales, to the *Life of St. Cecilia*, though the latter may have been either a later addition or borrowed indirectly.

BOECE. While *Troilus* was in progress Chaucer seems to have taken up two other subjects. The first of these, which leaves its trace on the *Troilus* and on many of his later works, was a prose translation of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius, a Roman statesman and man of letters who was first imprisoned and afterwards murdered by the Emperor Theodoric in A.D. 525. In the *De Consolatione*, written during his imprisonment, Boethius imagines himself visited by his mistress Philosophy, who, after listening to his complaints, reminds him how many sources of consolation still remain to him, and that true happiness is not to be found in riches or power, but in obedience to the Law of Love which governs all things. From these beginnings Philosophy raises her disciple to the idea of God Himself, as the Supreme Good, and then passes on to explain the existence of evil, the rewards of virtue and vice, and the reconciliation of man's free will with God's foreknowledge. Her arguments are diversified by a succession of short poems, in which they are illustrated, often by analogies drawn from the forces of nature. The frequent use which he makes of it in his subsequent poems shows that Chaucer was genuinely interested in the *De Consolatione*, but his attempt to translate it into English prose was not very successful, for he inverts his sentences and uses strange phrases till his English is often harder to understand than the Latin.

THE PARLEMENT OF FOULES. The other work which interrupted the *Troilus* in 1382 was of a very different kind. This is a poem of some 600 lines written in the seven-line stanza and celebrating with delightful ease and humour the betrothal of Richard II. with Anne of Bohemia.

The poem begins with the usual dream, in which the poet finds himself in the usual fair garden. It is St. Valentine's Day, and all the birds are presenting themselves before the goddess Nature to choose their mates. Nature holds in her hand a formel (or female) eagle, and three of her kind come to sue for her love. The other birds are bidden to decide which is the worthiest, but after they have said their say the formel asks for a respite to consider for herself, and the birds all fly away singing their song :

> Now welcome, somer, with thy sonnė soft,
> Thou hast this wintrės weders overshake
> And driven a-wey the longė nyghtės blake.

The whole poem is an allegory of Richard II.'s wooing, but the pretty form which he gave it enabled Chaucer to display with charming effect his humour and lightness of touch.

THE HOUS OF FAME. After the *Troilus* was finished Chaucer turned next to a poem which bears traces of his recent study of Dante, the *Hous of Fame*. In this he imagines himself borne aloft by a golden eagle to the palace in which Fame receives her suitors and decides on the answers to their prayers. In the description of the palace, by the device of imagining that he saw its incidents painted on the walls, he introduces the story of Aeneas and Dido, and this and the description of the wayward reception which Fame gives to her petitioners, are written in his happiest style; but he was apparently unable to think out any end to his poem, and left it unfinished.

PALAMON AND ARCITE: THE LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN. The *Hous of Fame* was probably written

in 1383-84, and it is usually said to have been immediately followed by the *Legend of Good Women*. But 'al the storye of Palamon and Arcyte' is alluded to in the Prologue to the *Legend*, and despite the high authorities who have supported a theory that this reference is to a version of the *Teseide* in seven-line stanzas, which Chaucer is supposed to have made and destroyed, it seems simplest to believe that the tale which the poet subsequently assigned to the Knight, like those he gave to the Second Nun (*S. Cecilia*), Clerk (*Griselda*), and Man of Law (*Constance*), was in the first case written independently.[1] In tone, temper, and colour *Palamon and Arcite*, as the Knight tells the story, is closely allied to the *Troilus*, and there seems no reason for imagining a lost version as an excuse for separating them. The tale of the two Theban knights who, in the prison in which Theseus has confined them, see his sister Emily walking in her garden, and contend for the honour of loving her till death ends their strife, is perhaps the best known of all Chaucer's works, and certainly one of the finest. In the *Legend of Good Women* he was less successful. The Prologue, in which the God of Love upbraids Chaucer for treason and Queen Alcestis bids him write stories of faithful women as a penance, is delightful in both its two forms. The earliest of the legends of Cupid's saints, the stories of Cleopatra, Thisbe, and Dido are hardly less good, but

[1] For some arguments on the subject see preface to the Globe Chaucer (pp. xxvi, xxvii) and On the Date of the Knight's Tale by F. J. Mather, jr., in *An English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall*, pp. 301-313. I hope to return to the subject in a preface to a forthcoming edition of the *Knight's Tale* uniform with this volume.

the theme Chaucer had chosen left little scope for variety, and when he had written nine of the nineteen tales he had planned, he turned aside to take up a happier task.

THE CANTERBURY TALES. In the *Legend of Good Women* we see Chaucer endeavouring to find a thread by which to link together a succession of stories. The attempt was no new one. Several series of didactic stories connected by a thread of narrative were already in circulation.[1] In the *Conde Lucanor* of the Infante Juan Manuel, written not later than 1342 (Chaucer may have heard of this Spanish collection through John of Gaunt), the convention of the moral lesson is said to be maintained, but the stories seem to be told for their own sake. Above all there was the *Decamerone* or Ten Days' Story Telling of Giovanni Boccaccio, in which ten lords and ladies are supposed to have fled from Florence during the plague of 1348 and beguiled their time with story telling in a fair garden. Chaucer is often said to have taken the idea of his *Canterbury Tales* from this last work, but no poem of his can be traced back directly to the *Decamerone*, since in the three or four cases in which he stumbled on a theme already handled in it the differences of treatment show clearly that he obtained his plot from a different source. If he had possessed the *Decamerone* it is impossible to believe that he would not have used it more largely, and as he cannot be proved to

[1] *e.g.* The *Seven Wise Masters of Rome*, in which seven philosophers combat a wicked Empress who has brought false accusations against her step-son, the Empress and the Sages telling alternate stories, and the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alfonsi, a book of instruction spoken by a dying Arab to his son and illustrated with tales.

have used it at all for his stories, it is at least doubtful whether he was acquainted with its frame-work. There is indeed no reason in the nature of things why the invention of such a frame-work should not have come to him as an entirely original idea. Even if he did not, as we would fain believe he did, himself go a pilgrimage when he was released in February, 1385, from the necessity of daily attendance at the Customs, his duties as a Justice of Peace for Kent, an office to which he was appointed in October of the same year, must have familiarised him with the sight of companies of pilgrims travelling along the road to Canterbury. We know from indignant Lollard criticisms that it was common for the pilgrims not only to shorten their way by the sounds of a bagpipe, even as the Miller is made to beguile his company, but to tell each other tales. What can be more natural than that, as Chaucer passed these merry parties on the road, the idea should have come to him, without any other suggestion, that he might link together his scattered stories and find a peg on which to hang fresh ones, by depicting a company of such English travellers and assigning to them such tales as would best suit their characters and professions or raise a laugh by their incongruity? However the idea came to him, this is what he did. The tales of S. Cecilia and Griselda were assigned to a nun and a pious clerk, that of the chivalrous cousins Palamon and Arcite, with all possible appropriateness, to a Knight, that of Constance, for no visible reason, to a Lawyer, the dreary 'Falls of Princes,' with new additions, to a hunting monk, in order to provoke the wrath of the company at his so disappointing their

reasonable expectations. What other stories Chaucer may have had by him when he planned his new cycle of tales we cannot say. The romance of Cambuscan may have been begun soon after that of Palamon and Arcyte was finished and the Squire added to the Pilgrims in order to narrate it, or the Squire may have been imagined first and the half-told tale inserted to suit him. Several of the stories have no particular appropriateness to their supposed narrators, *e.g.* those of Dorigen (Franklin's), Appius and Virginia (Physician's), and Apollo and the Crow (Manciple's).[1] Save the Prioress's Tale (connected definitely with her not only by its appropriateness, but by the 'quod she' in B 1771) the only Tales which we can feel quite certain were written after the idea of the Canterbury Pilgrimage had taken shape are those of the 'churls'—Miller, Reeve, Friar, Summoner, and Pardoner (this last much too good for its narrator, but yet linked to him by its subject), with the revelations and story of the Canon's Yeoman and the learned simplicity of the Nun's Priest's tale of Chaunticlere and Pertelote. All these are connected with each other and with the Prologue and Talks by the Road by their richness, vigour, humour, and ease. With them the colloquial tone first enters into English poetry, and attains at once a perfection which has never been surpassed. Chaucer had wearied of the lives of saints, the stories of chivalrous adventure and the allegories of love, which formed the stock-in-trade of court-poets.

[1] The attributions of others are puzzling. The Wife of Bath could have been much better suited with the Shipman's than with her own, and the Man of Law with Chaucer's of Melibeus and his wife Prudence.

To these stories, which had previously had no place in our literature because the doings of Carpenters, Millers, and the like did not appeal to fashionable audiences, he now turned with evident relish, and he exhibited in them, it must be confessed, the same easy tolerance of breaches of purity and decency which in the Prologue he shows to dishonesty. We could wish it were otherwise, but it is fair to Chaucer to remember that he had no skill in constructing original plots, and that the popular stories on which he had to draw were pervaded by the same characteristics.

Later Minor Poems. *The Canterbury Tales* were Chaucer's last important work,[1] and the composition of those specially written for the cycle certainly spread over several years. But Chaucer, though he was probably but little over sixty at the time of his death, seems to have felt old age press heavily on him, and it is quite possible that he did not continue his story telling up to the last. He wrote, however, a few short poems during his later years, and to these, together with one or two of an earlier date, we must now turn. The sportive balade 'to Rosemounde' belongs probably to the *Troilus* period, and the lines to Adam Scrivener reproaching him for mistakes made in copying the *Troilus* and the *Boece*

[1] From the fact that one of its calculations is made for the date March 12, 1391 (1392, New style), it is reasonable to suppose that the prose *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, which Chaucer wrote for 'litel Lowis' his son, was compiled in that year. The treatise is interesting as probably the earliest attempt to give instruction on a scientific subject in English instead of Latin, and it is still useful in helping us to understand the numerous astrological references in Chaucer's own works. Its literary value lies chiefly in its charming introduction.

are sufficiently dated by these references. Five other poems, *The Former Age*, *Fortune*, *Truth*, *Gentilesse*, *Lak of Stedfastnesse* are linked together by their obvious reminiscences of the poet's translation of the *De Consolatione*. The *Former Age* is 'a pleasant rhapsody on the good old times,' the Golden Age, when men were content with the fruits of the earth and had not yet learnt even the use of a plough. The other four poems are all cast in the form of balades, *i.e.* they consist of three stanzas, to which in some cases is added a fourth, called the Envoy, only two rhymes being used throughout. The *Fortune* contains three such balades, "Balades de visage sans Peinture" as they are called in some manuscripts, giving the accusation of the plaintiff against Fortune and her answer. The purport of the *Truth* (or "Balade de Bon Conseyl") is indicated in its beautiful first line, "Flee fro the prees, and dwelle with sothfastnesse." In the *Gentilesse* Chaucer recurs to a favourite theme, that nobility is proved by gentle actions, and that none who is not "trewe of his word, sobre, pitous and free," can rightly claim it, "Al were he mytre, croune, or diademe." The *Lak of Stedfastnesse* has usually been interpreted as a moral exhortation to King Richard to mend his ways, but it is doubtful if Chaucer would have cared to write in such a strain, and it seems better to interpret it as a commendation of the King's action in 1389, when he threw off the tutelage of his uncles and declared that he would rule for himself. The three balades which are usually called *The Compleynt of Venus* are freely translated from the French of a Savoyard poet, Sir Otes de Granson, and were probably written somewhere about 1393, possibly to please Isabella, Duchess of

York. The sportive *Envoy to Scogan*, who had broken the laws of love by "giving up" a too hard-hearted mistress, appears to have been written from the neighbourhood of Greenwich about 1393, and contains the request "mynnė thy frend ther it may fructifye," which may have helped to procure for Chaucer his pension from Richard II. The *Envoy to Bukton*, with its half humorous, half bitter warnings against marriage, contains a reference to the expedition against the Frieslanders in 1396, and was therefore presumably written in that year. The *Compleynt of Chaucer to his Purse*, with its Envoy to Henry IV. as "Conquerour of Brutes Albion," belongs to 1399, and despite its humour closes rather pitifully the long list of his poems.

CHAUCER'S PLACE IN ENGLISH LITERATURE.—In estimating the work of any poet we have to consider it under two different aspects, in its relation to the time at which it was produced and in its positive results. Looked at from either of these points of view, Chaucer's achievements were very great. When he began to write, the ideals of the thirteenth century had lost their power. While the memory of Richard Coeur de Lion was fresh in men's minds the adventures of knights and their ladies formed a natural subject for poetry. By the reign of Richard II. they had lost any semblance of reality. Dead also was the fervour of mystical faith which gave to the Arthurian romances their unique atmosphere. The first and not the least of the achievements of Chaucer was that he gave English poetry new subjects, drawn partly from Italian literature, partly from Latin, partly from the popular tales of his day, partly, and this is the most important of all, from the English life which he saw

around him. That he, who was essentially a poet of the Court, brought into English court poetry such a series of descriptions as we have in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, is one of the most striking instances of originality that the history of English literature can offer us.

In the second place, with his new subjects he brought new methods of handling them. We note at once his introduction of two important new metres, the seven-line stanza and the ten (or eleven)-syllabled couplet, both admirable narrative metres, removed at once from the monotony of the octosyllabic couplets and from the excessive complication of such long stanzas as we find in *Pearl*. We note more gradually, and can hardly overestimate, the extraordinary richness and ease, which, as he grew in mastery of his art, he imported into his verse. With him, as we have said, the conversational note first enters into English poetry. With the conversational note came also an inexhaustible humour, never boisterous or forced, but playing gently round its subject with a quiet fun, which to this day sometimes defies the efforts of commentators to tell whether some seemingly serious sentence does not hide a jest. Again he turned his back resolutely on the prolixity of the romances, conveys the effect of rapid action in a few vivid strokes, and fills his pages with a series of pictures as bright and glittering as the illuminations in a medieval manuscript. Thus no English poet has obeyed more completely his own precept 'the wordės moot be cosyn to the dede,' and he comes before us as the first conscious artist in English verse. His lyrical gift was infinitely less than that shown not only by the great Elizabethans, and many of the

poets of the nineteenth century, but by some of his anonymous predecessors. The secular drama, in which he would surely have excelled, was not yet invented. The only department of poetry open to his pursuit was that of story-telling, and as a teller of stories, when we consider the sweetness of his early tales, the glittering colour and high chivalrous tone intermingled with comedy of the *Troilus* and *Palamon*, the vivid character-sketches of the *Prologue* and the humour of his latest tales, it is impossible to name any other English poet whose achievement can be matched against his. If we could take thirty per cent. of Goldsmith, fifty of Fielding, and twenty of Walter Scott, and vitalise this compound with the spirit of the fourteenth century, we should get perhaps fairly near to another Chaucer. But it would be a Chaucer whose right hand wrote in prose and only his left in verse, and our formula, though it may be useful in suggesting the writers to whom Chaucer is most akin, and how modern he really is, would still be defective, for the charm of his poetry remains personal and individual.

III. THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CANTERBURY TALES.

NATURE OF THE PILGRIMAGE.—In addition to what has already been said of the *Canterbury Tales* in our general survey of Chaucer's poetry, we must now consider briefly some points as to the nature of the framework he adopted, and the extent to which he was able to carry out his ambitious plan.

Thomas à Becket was murdered on Dec. 29, 1170, and canonised three years later. In 1220 the transfer of

his body to a gorgeous shrine attested and increased the veneration in which the saint was held. When Chaucer wrote, more than two centuries after Becket's death, the popularity of the pilgrimage to the scene of his martyrdom was still undiminished. Though with few claims to the position Becket had become, we may almost say, the national saint, and the pilgrimage to his shrine was made by all sorts of people from all sorts of motives. At the moment when they knelt at the shrine the pilgrims were doubtless filled with awe, but on the way there and back they treated their expedition very much as a holiday outing. The stock quotation on this point is from the account given by a Wycliffite priest, Thomas Thorpe, of his examination by Archbishop Arundel on a charge of heresy in 1407. Thorpe represents himself as saying :

"Wherefore, Syr, I have prechid and taucht openlie, and so I purpose all my lyfe tyme to do with Goddes helpe, saying that such fonde people waste blamefully Goddes goods in ther veyne pilgrimagis. . . . Also, Syr, I know well that when diverse men and women will go thus often after their own willis, and finden out one pilgrimage, they will order with them before to have with them both men and women that can well syng countre songes, and some other pilgremys will have with them baggepipes; so that every time they come to rome, what with the noyse of their syngyng and with the sounde of their piping and with the jangeling of their Canterbury bellis, and with the barking out of doggis after them, that they make more noise than if the King came there away with all his clariouns, and many other minstrellis. And if these men and women be a moneth in their pilgrimage many of them shall be an half year after greate jangelers, tale-tellers, and lyers."

So said Thorpe, not greatly exaggerating complaints of perfectly orthodox critics. Nor does the Archbishop altogether deny the charge.

"And the Archbishop said to me: 'Leude losell, thou seest not ferre ynough in this matter, for thou considerest not the great travel of pilgremys, therefore thou blamest the thyng that is praisable. I say to the that it is right well done that pilgremys have with them both singers and also pypers, that whan one of them that goeth barfoote striketh his toe upon a stone and hurteth hym sore, and makyth hym to blede: it is well done that he or his felow begyn then a songe, or else take out of his bosom a baggepipe for to drive away with suche myrthe the hurt of his felow. For with soche solace the travel and weeriness of pilgremys is lightely and merily brought forth."

Whether or no the pilgrims did well to make them merry with tales and bagpipes, it is evident that tales and bagpipes were much in request among them, and that the merriment of Chaucer's company was quite in accordance with custom.

STAGES OF THE JOURNEY.—Canterbury is fifty-six miles from London on the high road to Dover. For use along this road horses, prominently marked to discourage thieving, could be hired at the rate of twelvepence from Southwark to Rochester, twelvepence thence to Canterbury, and sixpence from Canterbury to Dover. The time occupied by the journey (I quote from my 'Chaucer Primer') was probably no less than four days. This may seem excessive for a ride of only fifty-six miles; but many of the pilgrims were ill-mounted and inexpert riders (thus of the Shipman it is said 'he rode upon a rouncy as he coude'), even main-roads in the 14th century were often little better than quagmires, and this Canterbury road in particular is twice spoken of by the Host as 'the slough.' Travellers on urgent business, no doubt, rode considerable distances, as much as 40 miles in a day, but from 20 to 25 miles seems to have been considered a good day's journey. For a mixed company

of holiday-makers 46 miles in three days over fairly level roads, and ten miles for the last day's road over Blean Hill, would not have been abnormally slow progress. Moreover we have precedents to guide us. In 1358 the Queen-Mother Isabella went on a pilgrimage to Canterbury. She left London on June 7th, slept that night at Dartford, slept at Rochester on the 8th, at Ospringe (near Faversham) on the 9th, and reached Canterbury on the 10th, *i.e.* on the fourth day from starting. In 1360 John of France in his journey from London to Calais slept at Dartford July 1st, dined there next day, slept at Rochester July 2nd, dined at Sittingbourne and slept at Ospringe July 3rd, reaching Canterbury July 4th. The records of other 14th century journeys confirm the presumption that Dartford, Rochester, and Ospringe (where some trace of the old Pilgrims' House still exists) were the regular sleeping places on the road. If we imagine our pilgrims as having kept to them we shall get the simplest explanation of all the references to places and time in their conversations, and have the journey divided into fairly equal lengths.

FICTION AND FACT IN CHAUCER'S NARRATIVE.—Chaucer tells us in the Prologue how, one April,

> In Southwerk at the Tabard as I lay
> Redy to wenden on my pilgrymage
> To Caunterbury with ful devout corage,
> At nyght were come into that hostelrye,
> Wel nyne-and twenty in a compaignye
> Of sondry folk, by áventure y-falle
> In felaweshipe and pilgrimes were they alle,
> That toward Caunterbury wolden ryde.

Now, at the dissolution of the Monasteries 'a hostelry called the Tabard' was mentioned in the surrender of

the Southwark property of the Abbot of Hyde; in the time of Speght, who edited Chaucer's works in 1602, the inn was managed by a Master G. Preston, who had then newly refitted it for the convenience of travellers, and in the *Survey of London* by Stow (1588) it is mentioned as the most ancient of the many fair inns in Southwark. All this proves abundantly that in the 16th century, and probably in the 15th, there was a Tabard Inn in existence, but no one has yet answered the question I asked in my 'Eversley' edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, as long ago as 1894:—Was there or was there not a Tabard Inn at Southwark in Chaucer's day? The question, as I then pointed out, is of more than antiquarian interest. A real Tabard Inn must of necessity carry with it a real Harry Bailly as its host, and in that case what would Mrs. Harry Bailly have said to Chaucer's insinuations that she incited her husband to beat his rascals and generally to break the King's peace?

I haddė levere than a barel ale,
That goodė lief my wyf hadde herd this tale,
For she nys no thyng of swich pacience,
As was this Melibeus wyf Prudence.
By goddes bonės! whan I bete my knaves,
She bryngeth me forth the gretė clobbed staves,
And crieth, 'Slee the doggės evėrichoon,
And brek hem, bothė bak and every boon;
And if that any neighėbore of myne
Wol nat in chirchė to my wyf enclyne,
Or be so hardy to hire to trespace.
Whan she comth home she rampeth in my face,
And crieth, 'Falsė coward! wrek thy wyf!
By corpus bonės! I wol have thy kayf,
And thou shalt have my distaf and go spynne!'

The good man fears that he may commit manslaughter some day at his wife's instigation (see the whole passage,

B. 3082-3113). Could Chaucer possibly have written thus of a real woman, 'byg in armes,' and with a husband to defend her? Was there really a reeve named Oswald in the little town of Baldeswell in Norfolk (Prologue, l. 620), who would sit quietly under imputations that he had 'privily astored' himself? It seems impossible, and yet why should Chaucer have dragged in the reference to Baldeswell, if it means nothing; and what are we to make of the fact that there was a real Henricus Baylly in Chaucer's day, who represented Southwark in the Parliament of 1378? It should, perhaps, be pointed out that mine host is only once given his name—it comes out when he is chaffing the Cook on his Jacks of Dover, and the Cook answers:

> "Thou seist ful sooth," quod Roger, "by my fey!
> But 'sooth pley quaad pley,'[1] as the Flemyng seith;
> And therefore, Herry Bailly, by thy feith
> Be thou nat wrooth, er we departen heer,
> Though that my tale be of an hostileer."

Chaucer is not likely to have revised this passage, or he would have gone on with the *Cook's Tale*, which immediately follows it. It is possible that he really had Harry Bailly in his mind when he drew the Host, but omitted his name intentionally in the Prologue, and let it fall from the Cook's mouth accidentally. If so, though we know there was a Harry Bailly, there may have been no Tabard. Or again, there may have been a Tabard, with a hostess so notoriously meek that the chaff about 'clobbed staves' could not touch her. The framework Chaucer devised for his stories is so original, so unique in English literature, that to our great loss it is impossible

[1] A true jest is a bad jest.

for us to tell what freedom of allusion he allowed himself in it, or what facts may be mixed with its fictions.

UNFINISHED CONDITION OF THE TALES.—There are two points in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* which do not agree with Chaucer's language elsewhere. The first of these is the mention, in l. 164, of three priests as in attendance on the Prioress. In B. 3999 the Host is made to speak 'unto the Nonnes preest anon,' which clearly implies that there was only one such priest. Moreover, if there were three priests, the 'wel nyne and twenty in a compaignye' at the Tabard become (including Chaucer) 31, viz. :

Knight, Squire, Yeoman,	3
Franklin,	1
Prioress and her Chaplain,	2
Prioress's Priests,	3
Clerk of Oxford, Poor Parson,	2
Monk, Friar, Pardoner, and Summoner,	4
Merchant, Five Gildsmen and their Cook, Manciple, Shipman,	9
Physician and Sergeant of Law,	2
Miller, Reeve, Ploughman,	3
Wife of Bath,	1
Chaucer,	1

Thus it seems clear that 'the preestes thre' are incompatible with the rest of the scheme, and that there is here either some change of plan, or a mistake.

In like manner the Host is made to add to the perfectly straightforward decree

> That ech of yow to shortė with your weye
> In this viage shall tellė talės tweye—

the bald superfluous and confusing couplet :

> To Caunterburyward, I mean it so,
> And homward he shal tellen othere two,

saddling the pilgrims with four tales each, or a total of 116, in addition to the extra tale of the Canon's Yeoman. But in the Parson's Prologue the Host entreats him

> ne breke thou nat oure pley,
> For every man save thou hath told his tale,

clearly implying, what we should expect, that each pilgrim has to tell only two tales in all, one on the outward, the second on the homeward journey, giving fifty-eight (besides chance ones) altogether. But so far from our having two (much less four) tales from each pilgrim, there are seven of them (the Yeoman, Ploughman, and five Gildsmen) from whom we have no tales at all, while those of the Squire and Cook are incomplete, and the Monk's Tragedies and Chaucer's Tales of Sir Thopas are interrupted. On the other hand we have a prose tale from Chaucer in addition to Sir Thopas, and an extra tale, not contemplated in the Prologue, told by a Yeoman, who, with a Canon, his master, overtakes the pilgrims when they have ridden some five miles from Ospringe. Thus we have twenty finished stories, two unfinished and two interrupted ones.

According to Chaucer's plan, between each story and its successor there should have been a conversational link or Talk on the Road. But at least eight of these links are missing, so that it is necessary to divide the tales into nine groups, the stories within which are linked together, while between one group and another there is a gap. The order of these nine groups is not given quite accurately in any single manuscript, but is sufficiently determined by the references to lines and places. As rearranged, the groups are lettered A-I, and references to

the *Canterbury Tales* are now always given by the letter of the group and number of the line.

SUMMARY OF THE JOURNEY AND TALE-TELLING.—After these explanations the following synopsis of the incidents on the road and story-telling should be intelligible:

GROUP A.

Prologue, ending with the start from the Watering of St. Thomas, April 17th.

Knight's Tale of the contest of Palamon and Arcite for the love of Emily, the sister of Duke Theseus. [Written about 1384. From Boccaccio's *Teseide*.]

Words between the Host and the Miller, the Miller insisting on telling 'his cherles tale,' for which Chaucer apologises.

Miller's Tale of an Oxford carpenter persuaded by his wife and a clerk to sit all night in a tub, to be ready to row away when Noah's Flood came again. [Late work; source unknown.]

Reeve's Prologue and Tale, answering the Miller's ridicule of the old carpenter by a story of how two Cambridge clerks revenged themselves on a miller who had turned their horse loose in order that he might steal their corn while they caught it. [Late work; adaptation of old French fabliaux.] Before the tale begins, the Host remarks:

> Sey forth thy tale, and tarie nat the tyme,—
> Lo, Depėford, and it is half-wey pryme.
> Lo, Grenėwych, ther many a shrewe is inne,
> It were al tyme thy talė to bigynne.

Cook's Prologue and Unfinished Tale of a disreputable London apprentice, 'Perkyn revelour.' In the Prologue, in answer to some chaff from the Host, he bids 'Herry Bailly' not to be wrath if, later on, he tells a tale of 'an hostileer.' In many MSS. there follows here the *Tale of Gamelyn*, a considerably earlier story, which Chaucer probably meant to rewrite and assign to his Yeoman. The rest of the Tales supposed to be told on the first day of the pilgrimage are altogether lacking, and were almost certainly never written.

* * * * * *

[Tales of the Second Day.]

Group B.

Words of the Host to the Company, a little sermon on 'loss of time,' it being then 10 A.M. on April 18th. The Man of Law, in replying to a request for a tale, gives a list of Chaucer's stories to show that there is nothing left to tell of. He ends:

> But nathelees, I recche noght a bene,
> Though I come after hym with hawė bakė,
> I speke in prose, and lat hym rymės make.

This may be held to cover the fact that the verse-tale he proceeds to tell is not his own, but an old one by Chaucer. It is more probable, however, as Dr. Furnivall has suggested, that the prose *Tale of Melibee* was originally intended to be assigned to the Lawyer, to whom its long arguments are well suited.

Man of Law's Tale, professedly told him by a merchant, 'goon is many a yere,' of the Emperor's daughter Constance. [Written before 1378. Freely adapted from the Anglo-Norman Chronicle of Nicolas Trivet.]

Talk on the Road. The Parson reproves the Host for swearing, and is accused himself of being a 'Loller.' The Shipman, to prevent him 'preaching,' offers a tale himself.

Shipman's Tale of how a merchant was deceived by his wife and a monk. [Late date; no original discovered.]

Words of the Host and Prioress's Tale of the little chorister murdered by Jews for his devotion to the Blessed Virgin and of the miracle the Virgin wrought for him. [Other versions of the story exist both in French and English. Chaucer's was probably about 1386.]

The Merry Words of the Host to Chaucer, quoted already (see p. xxi) followed by *Chaucer's Tale of Sir Thopas*, written as a parody on the old romances of chivalry. In this the Host 'stinteth' him with the exclamation, 'Na more of this for Goddės dignitee. . . . Mine erės aken of thy drasty speche,' and he then tells in prose the *Tale of Melibee*, in praise of Arbitration instead of War. [Taken from Jean de Meung's version of the *Liber Consolationis et Consilii* of Albertano of Brescia, composed about 1238. Date of Chaucer's version uncertain.]

Merry Words of the Host to the Monk, in which he notes, 'Lo! Rouchéstre stant heer faste by,' followed by the *Monk's Tale*, '*De Casibus virorum illustrium*,' or 'Falls of Princes.' [Taken from Boccaccio's work of this name and other sources. Early work revised, and with recent instances added.] In the middle of the tragedy of Crœsus 'the Knight stinteth the Monk of his tale,' and though the Host bids him 'sey somewhat of huntyng,' he refuses to make a second attempt.

The Nun's Priest's Tale of the Cock and Hen, Chaunticleer and Pertelote. [Enlarged from a fable told by Marie de France. A bright and clean example of Chaucer's latest style.]

* * * * * *

Tales of the Third Day.

Group C.[1]

Doctor of Physic's Tale of Appius and Virginia. [Late work. Taken from the version of Livy's story in the *Roman de la Rose*.]

Words of the Host to the Physician and Pardoner: *Pardoner's Preamble*, describing his methods of preaching and getting money. *Pardoner's Tale* of the three rioters who went in quest of Death, and found him in finding a hidden treasure. [An old story from the East, retold in Chaucer's latest style.]

Group D.

Prologue of the Wife of Bath, narrating her experiences of married life, followed by her Tale of the condemned knight saved by an old woman who teaches him the answer to a riddle, and, on his marrying her, becomes a beautiful girl. [Late work. No original traced.] In the course of a quarrel between Friar and Summoner before the Tale begins, there is a reference to Sittingbourn as the next stopping place.

Friar's Tale of a summoner who was worse than the Devil, and how the Devil seized him. [Late work. Two analogues extant.]

Summoner's Tale of the insult offered by a sick man to a begging friar who pestered him for gifts. [Late work. No original traced.]

[1] The position of Group C. is by no means certain.

Group E.

Clerk of Oxford's Prologue, in which he speaks of a tale 'lerned at Padowe of a worthy clerk . . . Fraunceys Petrak,' followed by the Tale, Chaucer's old rendering of Petrarch's Latin story of the Patience of Grisilde, with some added stanzas.

Merchant's Prologue and Tale, answering the Clerk's with a story of how a young wife deceived her old husband. [Late work. Analogues in Latin and in Boccaccio.]

* * * * * *

Tales of the Fourth Day.

Group F.

Squire's Tale of Cambuscan and his fair daughter Canacee, and the magic sword, mirror, and ring. [Left unfinished. Probably an attempt to combine several stories. Similar in style to the *Knight's Tale*.] In l. 73 the Squire alludes to its being the hour of 'prime.'

Franklin's Words to the Squire, and Franklin's Tale of the Truth of Dorigen and the generosity of a squire and astrologer.

Group G.

Second Nun's Prologue and Tale of S. Cecilia. [One of Chaucer's earliest poems, inserted without revision.]

Canon's Yeoman's Prologue. Before the Pilgrims have ridden quite five miles they are overtaken at Boughton-under-Blee by a Canon and his Yeoman. The Yeoman tells such stories of his master's knavery in pretending to transmute silver into gold that the Canon rides away.

Canon's Yeoman's Tale of how another canon cheated a priest by similar pretences.

Group H.

Manciple's Prologue, a talk by the road near 'Bobbe-up-and-doun, under the Blee in Caunterbury way,' during which the drunken Cook falls from his horse.

Manciple's Tale of how Apollo punished a crow for revealing a woman's untruth. [Late work. Story in *Ovid*.]

GROUP I.

Parson's Prologue and Tale, a prose sermon on the Seven Deadly Sins and true Penitence. [Partly taken from the *Somme de Vices et de Vertus* of Frère Lorens, a 13th century writer.] Told after the stories of all the other Pilgrims ('now lakketh us no tales mo than oon'), towards evening (now hasteth yow, the sonne wole adoun'), as the Pilgrims are nearing Canterbury.

IV. CHAUCER'S LANGUAGE.

THE years in which Chaucer was growing up were a critical period for the English language. When the poet was about ten years old Ranulph Higden wrote in his *Polychronicon* the famous passage (Bk. 1. ch. lix.) in which he spoke of the corrupted state of English, of how boys construed their Latin into French, how French was the language of the nobility and of the country people who imitated them, and how the old Saxon speech, split up into three dialect, had with difficulty survived among a few rustic folk (in paucis adhuc agrestibus vix remansit). In 1385, the year in which Chaucer wrote his *Legend of Good Women*, John Trevisa in translating the *Polychronicon* noted the change that had come about: "for Johan Cornwal, a maystere of gramere, chayngede the lore in gramer-scole and construccion of Freynsch into Englysch, and Richard Pencrych lurnede that manere of techyng of hym and other men of Pencrych." John of Cornwall seems to have been a contemporary of Higden;[1] Penkryssh to have been living at Oxford in 1367, so the change was taking place during Chaucer's youth and

[1] He seems to have been master of a grammar school connected with Merton College, Oxford. See the article by Dr. W. H. Stevenson in the *English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall.*

early manhood. Trevisa notes also that 'gentilmen haveth now moche i-left for to teche here children frenshe.' In 1362 Edward III., at the request of the London citizens, had allowed suits to be pleaded in the law courts in English instead of French. By the time Chaucer wrote the earliest of the *Canterbury Tales* the victory of English was already assured, and yet his contemporary Gower, as late as 1376-78, used French as a medium for his *Mirour de l'Omme*,[1] a poem of nearly 30,000 lines. Higden may have exaggerated the forlorn condition of English during the first half of the 14th century, but during that period French must have been the chief language of the nobility and all who came into contact with them, and for many years after 1350 it must have been an alternative language with which all educated Englishmen had to be acquainted. Moreover it is clear that the triumph of English, as the language of polite society, was effected not by men who could only talk English taking the place of men who could only talk French; but by men who had previously only talked French, at least among themselves, first taking up English as an alternative language, and then giving it the preference. The natural result was that they carried much of their vocabulary, much of their spelling, much of their pronunciation with them. Professor Skeat in his *Notes on English Etymology* (Clarendon Press, 1901) has given a rough list of some 3000 modern English words which occur in Anglo French books and documents of the 13th and 14th centuries, often in the exact form

[1] The work usually alluded to in the histories of English literature as the *Speculum Meditantis*. Edited by G. C. Macaulay, in his *Complete Works of John Gower*, Vol. I., 1899.

we now use. In the same book, and also in his edition of *Havelok* (Clarendon Press, 1902), he has shown how the spelling of English poems has been altered by their having been copied by scribes more familiar with French. Here then we have no conscious conflict in which each side fought for the purity of its own speech, but a continual give-and-take, and in this compromise no one man, not even Chaucer himself, could play a decisive part. Born in London, and mixing all his life with the Court, Chaucer wrote the ordinary dialect of educated Londoners, which was practically that of the East Midlands, and with few modifications has become, as it would no doubt have become in any case, though the popularity of his poems may have helped the process, the standard English of our own day. We should thus dismiss altogether the foolish talk of Chaucer having 'corrupted' English by adopting unnecessary French words, and on the other hand not attribute to him any undue share in the work of making the English language. Now that Gower's English poem, *Confessio Amantis*, has at last been edited by a thoroughly competent scholar (*The Complete Works of John Gower*, edited by G. C. Macaulay, Vols. 2 and 3, Clarendon Press, 1901), we can see that Gower's language, though it leans rather to Southern than to Midland forms, and has a greater admixture of Kentish, is substantially the same as Chaucer's, and that Gower is at least as careful as Chaucer, both in his grammar and his pronunciation. His popularity also, if we may test it by the number of copies of the *Confessio* which have been preserved (about 50 as compared with about 60 of the *Canterbury Tales*), and the praise of his successors, was

nearly as great. Whatever credit is due to Chaucer for moulding our language must therefore be given also to Gower. In fact, the methods of the two poets were the same. Both used the ordinary educated language of their day; both allowed themselves some little freedom in their rhyme words, but were generally precise in matters of pronunciation, and both, like all true poets, were conservative in their tendencies, retaining inflections which were being rapidly dropped in ordinary speech. Their moderation and their conservatism were not imitated by their successors. Lydgate, Stephen Hawes, and Skelton (when he tried to write finely) were not content with the ordinary English of their day, but tried to improve on it by ransacking their Latin vocabularies for ornate polysyllables, which they transferred straight into English. It was surely his abstinence from this folly, not any idea that he had passed judgment in the spirit of a philologist on the English of his own day, that won for Chaucer Spenser's praise of him as a "well of English undefiled."

The triumph of English over Anglo-French was greatly facilitated by the fact that both languages had for long been spoken by the same tongues. The French was the "Frenssh of Stratford-atte Bow"; the English had not yet undergone the changes of pronunciation which in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries separated it more and more widely from the "Frenssh of Parys." The young student will recover quite enough of Chaucer's pronunciation if he give the vowels the sounds they have in modern French poetry. To be prematurely careful about pronunciation may easily lead to neglect of more important matters, or to the crime of reading Chaucer's verse in an

affected and finicking manner. The following notes on his variations from modern practice are a little more detailed, but for full information the student should consult Dr. Liddell's Introduction to his Edition of the Prologue, or ten Brink's *Chaucer's Sprach- und Verskunst*, now accessible in Miss Bentinck Smith's excellent translation (*The Language and Metre of Chaucer.* By Bernhard ten Brink. Macmillan, 1901).

Long Vowels.

ā (aa), as in *father*, not as in *place.*

ē (ee), when close, nearly as ā in *tale*; when open, nearly as *a* in *mare.*

ī (ȳ), as in *machine*, not as in *fine.*

ō (oo), when close, as *oa* in *boat*; when open, as *oa* in *broad.*

ū only occurs in French words and there keeps the French sound.

Short Vowels.

The inflectional e-final, when sounded, must be pronounced lightly, like the *a* in *China* in rapid talk. Otherwise ĕ, as well as ĭ and ŏ, is sounded as at present: ĕ as in *met*, ĭ as in *fin*; ŏ both as in *not* and as in *monk.*

ŭ in words of English origin has its modern sound, as in *full*; but keeps its French sound in words from the French.

ă differs from the other short vowels in never having its modern sound, as in *cat* or *than.* It has the usual Continental sound of short a, as in the German *Mann.*

Diphthongs.

ai (ay), ei (ey), have the present Cockney pronunciation of *ai*, nearly as i in *fine.*

au (aw), as *ou* in house, not as *au* in *haul.*

eu (ew), not very different from at present, but modified by the *e* having the value rather of modern *ai* than *ee.*

oi (oy), as at present.

ou (ow), where now pronounced as in *fowl*, must be given the sound of *oo* in *fool*; elsewhere nearly as *ow* in *know.*

Consonants.

With very slight exceptions these were sounded as at present. *Gh* when fully pronounced had the sound of the Scotch *ch* in *loch*, but under French influence was rapidly becoming silent. *Gn* was probably pronounced as *n*. Initial *h* was neglected, as at present in many words of French origin and often in *he*, *him*, *his*, *hir*, *here*, *hem*, and *hath*, *hadde*, and *have*. The syllables *ci*, *si*, *ti* have their full value, and must never be pronounced *sh*.

In addition to differences of pronunciation and the presence of words which have now become obsolete, Chaucer's language differs from the English of our own day mainly in preserving and sounding a final -e, -en, and -n which have since been lost, and an -es which has since been weakened to simple -s. These endings in -e, -en, -n, -es are themselves in the case of native English words mostly weakened forms of earlier terminations; in the case of nouns of French origin the e-final represents a termination still sounded in French verse, though slurred in the less formal pronunciation of prose.

Substantives.

I. In a number of Middle-English substantives the nominative ends in a fully sounded e-final.

(*a*) In many words of French origin: *service* (122),[1] *grece* (135), *signe* (226), *visage* (628).

(*b*) In many words of English origin with a monosyllabic stem:

(i.) Representing older terminations in a, e, and u: e.g. *coppe*, cup (O.E. cuppa); *sonne* (O.E. sunna); *herte*, heart (O.E. heorte); *sone*, son (O.E. sunu).

(ii.) From a tendency to add to all feminine substantives, by false analogy, the termination -e, even when they possessed nothing answering to it in Old English: e.g. *bote*, remedy (O.E. bōt); *rote*, root (O.E. rōt); *meede*, reward (O.E. mēd).

[1] Numbers without other references refer to lines in the Prologue (Group A.).

In regard to this e-final in nominatives, Chaucer's practice is not uniform. Not only does he sound it in some words and omit it from others of the same class, but in words in which he generally sounds it he occasionally leaves it silent.

II. Inflections.

(*a*) The Genitive singular is nominally formed in -es, -s: *shires*, *cristes*, *lordes*, *mannes*, *Goddes*. Traces are also found of the old feminine genitive in -an, which has become so weakened that it only avails to keep out the masculine termination -s: *his lady grace* (88), *oure lady veyl* (695), so perhaps *chirche* in *chirche-doore* (460, cp. *halle-dore*, Squire's Tale, l. 80). Elsewhere we find *sonne*, *hevene*, *widwe* used as genitives. But, as a rule, feminine nouns follow the analogy of the masculine and form their genitives in -es, -s.

The words *fader* (781) and *brother* sometimes, more especially in proverbial phrases, form their genitives without inflection.

(*b*) The dative singular, as a rule, does not differ from the nominative in sound, though to nominatives which end in a consonant a silent -e is often added by the scribes when the word follows the prepositions *at*, *by*, *for*, *in*, *of*, *on*, *to*. Feminine nouns whose nominatives end in -e are sometimes said to be in the dative case when they follow these prepositions, but as the form would be the same in any case, the statement is hardly warranted. Other so-called dative forms occur at the pause in the verse, where an additional lightly sounded syllable is often found, *e.g.*

With bowe in honde | right as an hunteresse (A. 2347).

And of these, again, we must say that Chaucer may have consciously written them as datives, and intended the dative -e to be sounded, or he may not. In the same way, when we find the dative -e in a word rhyming with another in which Chaucer's pronunciation of the e-final is not constant (e.g. *yere* rhyming with *preyere* in A. 1203-4, *preyere* being a dissyllable in A. 2421), the uncertainty which attaches to the pronunciation of the rhyme-word must attach also to that of the dative. When allowance is made for these doubtful instances, the occurrence of the fully sounded dative -e in Chaucer becomes very rare. One instance in the *Prologue* is *towne* in 566, where the final -e must be sounded to rhyme with the infinitive *sowne* in the previous line.

(*c*) *Plurals in -es.* Monosyllabic substantives mostly form their plurals in -es fully sounded: e.g. *shoures* (1), *lokkes* (81), *songes* (98), *lippes* (128), *handes* (186), *bootes* (203, 273), *bookes* (294), *wordes* (313), *termes* (323), *doomes* (323), *stremes* (402), *drogges* (426), *legges* (591). Some monosyllables ending in -s make no change in the plural, e.g. *caas* (323). Substantives of two or more syllables occasionally add a fully sounded -es in the plural (e.g. *vigilies*, 377; *nosethirles*, 357; *relikes*, 701; *rekenynges*, 760). More often the e is silent, or dropped altogether: e.g. *palmeres* (13), *fetheres* (107), *daungers* (402), *achatours* (568), *batailles* (61), *husbondes* (460), *stywardes* (579), *frankeleyns* (216), *tavernes* (240), *bargaynes* (282), *parisshens* (482), *pilgrimes* (26), *lovedayes* (258), *remedies* (475).

(*d*) *Plurals in -en.* A few substantives form plurals in -en, a weakened form of the earlier -an: e.g. *eyen* or *yen* (152), *asshen* (A. 1302, F. 255), *been* (F. 204). In *doughtren* (Troilus iv. 22), *sustren* (Troilus iii. 733), as in the still current *children* and *brethren*, the termination is due to false analogy, the O.E. forms having been dohtru, sweostru, cildru, broðru.

(*e*) *Plurals without inflection.* A few nouns follow some Old English neuters of the vowel-declension which had no inflection in the nominative plural: e.g. *yeer* (twenty yeer of age, 82), *hors* (his hors were goode, 74 Ellesmere text, cp. 598), *sheep*, *neet*, *swyn* (597-98).

Adjectives.

I. Adjectives possessing a fully-sounded e-final independent of inflection. These follow Old English forms ending in -e: e.g. *clene* (504, O.E. *clæne*), *trewe* (531, O.E. *trīewe*), or are of French origin, as *nyce* (398, O. Fr. *nice*), *solempne* (209, O. Fr. *solemne*), *straunge* (464, O. Fr. *estrange*).

II. Definite use with e-final in singular. After the definite article (*the yongė sonne*, 7), a possessive pronoun (*his halfė cours*, 8), a demonstrative pronoun (*this ilkė monk*, 175); before proper names[1] (*fairė*, *yongė fresshė Venus*, A. 2386); also before, not after,

[1] This use was first pointed out by Zupitza. I owe my knowledge of it to Dr. Liddell's Introduction, *op cit.*, § 115. The use is clearly only a permissive one, but it perhaps justifies us, as Dr. Liddell thinks, in reading *seintė*, for *seint*, in l. 120, and wherever necessary, though the uninflected form occurs quite commonly before proper names. Mr. A. J. Ellis and Dr. Skeat, on the other hand, have contended that *seint* can be pronounced as a dissyllable, *seïnt*.

a substantive in the vocative (cp. *falsė traitour*, A. 1580, with *But mercy, lady bright*, A. 2231).

III. Indefinite use, without e-final in singular. *Of great reverence* (312), *a whit cote and a blew hood werėd he* (564). Adjectives used predicatively are thus uninflected. *Whit wes his berd* (332), *Boold was hir face* (458).

IV. Plurals. These are formed in e-final, for both definite and indefinite use, e.g. *the tendrė croppes* (7), *smalė foweles* (9), *fernė halwes* (14). Plural adjectives used predicatively are as a rule inflected, but not invariably; cp. *his nosethirles blakė were and wyde* (557) and *ful longė were his leggės and ful lene* (591), with *Nat fully quik ne fully deed they were* (A. 1015) and *Of which this ladyes weren nothing glad* (E. 375).

V. Genitive plural in -er (O.E. -ra). This survives in *aller*, of all, used after possessives (*hir aller cappe*, 586), *oure aller coste* (799), *oure aller cok* (823), or in compounds, e.g. *alder first*, first of all (F. 550).

VI. Comparatives and Superlatives. These are formed as a rule as in the present day. But final consonants in the positive are doubled in the comparative and superlative (*gret, gretter, grettest*), and the vowel change which survives in *elder* and *eldest* as compared with *old*, is found also in *strenger* (B. 2410) *strengest* (Troilus i. 243) from *strong*, and *lenger* (Legend 450) from *long*. (See also under *Adverbs.*) *Good* has as its comparative *bet* (Hous of Fame 108) as well as *better* and *bettre*, and *bad* has *badder* (F. 226) as well as *wers* (A. 3872).

Adverbs.

I. In -e. The Old English adverbial suffix in -e is still common in Chaucer, e.g. *fairė* (94), *soorė* (148), *latė* (690), *fastė* (719), *largė* (734).

II. In -ly. The modern adverbial suffix -ly is at least equally common, e.g. *sikerly* (137), *verraily* (368), *shortly* (715), *gladly* (803).

III. In -ely. In a few cases an -e remains, or is inserted before the -ly, e.g. *swetėly* (221), *trewėly* (481), *boldely* (F. 581).

IV. In -es. *Ones, twies, thries*; *hennes, thennes, whennes*; *unnethes* (scarcely, also *unnethe*); *agaynes, amonges, amyddes, nedes.*

V. Comparatives and Superlatives. The uninflected form of

the adjective is as a rule used for these. Note that *fer* (far) makes both *ferre* (Hous of Fame 600) and *ferrer* (835); *long* both *leng* (A. 3872) and *lenger* (B. 374). The addition of -ly to the comparative stem in *murier ly* (714) is exceptional.

Pronouns.

The forms *Ich* and *Ik* (in dialect) are occasionally used for I, and *thee* is frequently written *the*. *Her* appears as *hir* or *hire*, and in the accusative and dative occasionally as *here*. *It* frequently keeps its aspirate (*hit*) and the genitive form is *his*. In the plural *them* is uniformly *hem* (cp. our colloquial *'em*) and *their* usually *here*, but also *her* and *hir*.

The demonstrative *that* has its plural *tho*; the plural of *this* is *these* or *thise*, and is occasionally a dissyllable. *Which* is used for all genders, and is inflected when adjectival. It is also used as an interrogative as in l. 40 (*and whiche they were*, i.e. of what sort, Lat. *quales*).

Note that *man*, and its weakened form *men*, are used indefinitely for *one* (cp. French *on*, German *Mann*), e.g. *For swich lawe as man geveth another wight* (B. 43), and *Or if men smoot it with a yerde smerte* (149).

Verbs.

I. Present Tense.

The forms used by Chaucer for this tense differ from our modern use in the following points :

(*a*) The 1st sing. is formed with a final -e, which is often, but not always fully sounded.

F. 451. *For as I* trowė *thise been causes two.*

B. 94. *But nathelees, I* recchė *noght a bene.*

But : G. 753 *I* blowe *the fyr till that myn herte feynte.*

G. 874 *I* warne *yow wel it is to seeken ever.*

(*b*) The 3rd sing. is formed by the termination -eth -th, now only used in poetry.

11. *So* priketh *hem Nature in hir corages.*

796 sqq. *And which of yow that* bereth *hym beste of alle,*
That is to seyn that telleth *in this caas*
Tales of best sentence, etc.

(*c*) The 3rd singular of certain verbs is sometimes contracted.

F. 291. *The steward* byt (biddeth) *the spices for to hye.*

F. 61. *And* halt (holdeth) *his feest so solempne and so ryche.*

Troil. iii. 1374. *That blameth love and* holt (holdeth) *of it despyt.*

F. 512. *Right as a serpent* hit (hideth) *hym under floures.*

F. 77. *While that this kyng* sit (sitteth) *thus in his nobleye.*

B. 1704. *Seint Nicholas* stant (standeth) *ever in my presence.*

(*d*) The plural of all persons is formed in -en, -r, or the weakened form -e.

G. 672. *For ever we* lakken *our conclusioun.*

G. 673. *To mochel folk we* doon *illusioun.*

G. 674. *And* borwe *gold, be it a pound or two.*

769. *Ye* goon *to Caunterbury—God yow spede.*

771. *Ye* sharpen *yow to talen and to pleye.*

9. *And smale fowles* maken *melodye.*

F. 261. *Thus* jangle *they, and* demen *and* devyse.

(*e*) The old Southern plural in -eth is occasionally used, sometimes by attraction; in other cases it may be due to the scribe and not to Chaucer himself.

F. 514 sqq. *Right so this god of love, this ypocrite*
Dooth so his ceremonyes and obeisaunces
And kepeth in semblant alle his observaunces
That sowneth *into gentilesse of love.*

Here the use of *sowneth* instead of *sownen* is probably due to the previous occurrence of *dooth* and kepyth. In A. 1185, *And over his heed ther* shyneth *two figures shyneth*, is the reading of the Harleian MS. Others read *shynen.*

(*d*) In the Present Subjunctive, the singular is formed throughout with -e, the plural in -e or en.

II. Preterit.

(*a*) *Strong verbs.* The preterit is formed by vowel change only. The 1st and 3rd singular consist of the stem only; the 2nd singular is usually like the 1st and 3rd, but sometimes retains the Old English inflection in -e, sometimes has the weak termination in -est. In Old English the plural stem differed from the singular; in Middle English it is much more frequently the same. When it differs from the singular stem it mostly takes that of the past participle.

Examples: Sing. Bar — rod
Bar (bare, barest) — rod (rode, rodest)
Bar (105) — rod
Pl. Baren (721). — rĭden (825).

Instances of strong preterits in the *Prologue* are *sleep* (98, 397, but Chaucer also uses *slepte*), *heeng* (358), *henge*, pl. (677), *yaf* (424), *bigan* (44).

(*b*) *Weak verbs.* In these the preterit is formed by the terminations *-ede*, *-ed*, *-de*, or *-te*, to which (except the second) *n* may be added in the plural. The termination -ede is often retained in manuscripts where the rhythm shows that it must be shortened to -ed, or -de.

Examples: Sing., *lakkėdė* (756), *lovėde* (97), *payėde* (539), *wered* (75), *wyped* (133), *sayde* (70), *kepte* (442).

Plur. *weyėden* (454), *preyden* (811), *drouped* (107).

(ii.) A dozen weak verbs, survivals of about twice that number in Old English, owing to vowel-change having taken place in their present tense seem to have irregular preterits.

(*a*) original short stems: tellen, *tolde;* sellen, *solde;* byen, *boughte;* abyen, *aboughte;* strecchen, *straughte* (*streighte*).

(*b*) Original long stems; rechen, *raughte* (136); techen, *taughte* (528); sechen, *soughte*; werchen, *wroghte*; thenken (think), *thoughte*; thinken (seem), *thoughte* (785); brengen, *broughte.*

III. Imperative Present. In the singular strong verbs have no inflection. Thus *comen* makes *com* (Com hider love to me, 672); weak verbs may also remain uninflected, but in some cases take a final -e. In the plural (which includes polite requests to a single person), both strong and weak verbs may take a final -eth, but may also remain uninflected.

788. *Lordynges quod he now* herkneth *for the beste.*

789. *But* taak *it nought i pray yow in desdeyn.*

So we have *Hoold up youn hand* (783), *Tel me anon* (808), but also *Smyteth of myn heed* (782), *Draweth cut* (835), *Ne studieth nat* (841).

IV. Infinitives end in *-en*, *-n*, **or** *-e*, e.g. *swynken* (186), *ridė* (182), *payė* (806), and the gerundial infinitives *to goon* (12), *to seken* (13), *to ryse* (33).

V. Past Participles in strong verbs end in *-en -e*, as *holpen* (18), *riden* (47), *foughten* (62), *dronken* (135), *undergrowe* (156); in weak verbs in *-ed, -d*, as *perced* (2), *bathed* (3). To both strong and weak forms the prefix y- is frequently added, as in y-*bore* (578), y-*come* (77), y-*drawe* (396), y-*knowe* (423); y-*cleped* (457), y-*teyd* (457), y-*wroght* (196).

V. CHAUCER'S VERSIFICATION.

Most English students before coming to Chaucer have read some French poetry, and for these the study of a few lines of Racine may form a useful introduction to Chaucer's versification. The following lines are taken from *Iphigénie en Aulide*, and are written in the usual French Alexandrines, with twelve syllables to each verse:

Jamais jour n'a paru si mortel à la Grèce.
Déjà de tout le camp la discordė maîtresse
Avait sur tous les yeux mis son bandeau fatal,
Et donné du combat le funestė signal.
De ce spectacle affreux votrė fille alarmée!
Voyait pour elle Achille, et contre ellė l'armée
Mais, quoique seul pour elle, Achillė furieux
Épouvantait l'armée, et partageait les dieux.
Déjà de traits en l'air s'élėvait un nuage;
Déjà coulait le sang, prémicės du carnage:
Entre les deux partis Calchas s'est avancé,
L'œil farouchė, l'air sombre, et le poul hérissé,
Terrible, et plein du dieu qui l'agitait sans doute:
'Vous, Achille, a-t-il dit, et vous Grecs, qu'on m'écoute.
Le dieu qui maintėnant vous parlė par ma voix
M'expliquė son oracle, et m'instruit de son choix.
Un autrė sang d'Hélène, une autre Iphigénie
Sur ce bord immolée y doit laisser sa vie.
Thésée avec Hélène unis secrètėment
Fit succéder l'hymen à son enlèvėment.'

Now, in these twenty lines, unless we sound the e-final in *discorde* (2), *funeste* (4), *elle* before *l'armée* (6), *Achille*

(7), etc., the whole rhythm of the verse disappears. An uneducated Frenchman, if set to read this passage, would quickly turn the long sweeping lines into an undignified jog-trot, and there is abundant evidence that in less than a hundred years after Chaucer's death, his decasyllabics were read with so clipped and hurried a pronunciation, that they took the form of a line with four beats. It is quite easy to read them so now, if we have the necessary brutality :

Whan that Ap | ril' with | his shour | es swoot'
The droght | of March | hath perc'd | to the root'
And bath'd | ev'ry veyn | in swich | licour
Of which vir | tu is | engendr'd | the flour.

In the late manuscripts and early printed editions of Chaucer, thousands of lines are so mangled that the only metre which can be got out of them as they stand, is this jog-trot. At the end of the 15th century not a little verse was written obviously to be read like this. Finally, there is some reason to believe that this jog-trot was thought to be peculiarly suited to the Canterbury Tales, because the pilgrims rode on horseback. Thus it came to pass that later poets in praising Chaucer's humour and other obvious gifts so frequently apologized for, or regretted the 'rudeness' of his verse. So far, however, from being rude, it is in its straightforward simplicity (we must not claim for Chaucer the subtle music we find in Shakespeare and Shelley) as melodious as any English verse that has ever been written, if only it be read, as the pilgrims really rode, at a walking pace, and not at a trot or a gallop. In this edition (except at the end of lines), an e-final which has to be sounded is marked by an unobtrusive dot, so as to remove any doubt as to its value. As

in our extract from Racine, so in Chaucer, the e-final is elided before a word beginning with a vowel. In the same position in the words *the* and *ne* the elision of the vowel is so complete that they are often run into the following word, whence such forms as *thestaat*, *tharray* (716), *narette* (725), and we find *to* similarly compounded with a following infinite in *tendite*, *tamenden*, though there does not happen to be an example of this in the *Prologue*. Again the liquid syllables *el* and *er*, and the nasal *en*, before a following vowel may be so lightly pronounced as not to affect the scansion. Occasionally also *-le* at the end of a word of French origin is practically silent. When these explanations have been given, Chaucer's verse requires no rules for its pronunciation beyond those which apply to all freely written English verse, save as to two points, relating respectively to the beginning and end of his lines.

(i.) At the beginning of lines the evidence of the manuscripts is too strong for us to deny the existence of a certain number of cases in which in Chaucer's own phrase, the first foot 'fails in a syllable.' [1] The effect of this is sometimes good as throwing a strong accent where it heightens the effect of the line, *e.g.*

> For hym was levere have at his beddes heed
> Twen | ty bookes clad in blak or reed.

At other times the word seems inadequate to the stress imposed on it, and variety is obtained at too great a cost, *e.g.*

> He rood upon a rouncy as he kouthe
> In | a gowne of faldyng to the knee.

[1] (*Though som vers falle in a sillable*, Hous of Fame, l. 1098, Bk. iii. l. 8.)

(ii.) At the end of a majority of lines there is an extra syllable. In most cases this extra syllable is only an e-final, and we are tempted to think that in this position it may be slurred. It is clear, however, that it was strongly pronounced, for in the Prologue (671 *sq.*) we have *Rome* riming with *to me*, and in F. 675 *sq.*, *yowthe* riming with *allow thee*. Moreover, while in the body of his lines Chaucer seldom treats the termination -ie, -ye, in substantives of French origin as a fully sounded dissyllable, at the end of lines he is careful not to rime it with the adverbial -ly, thus showing that in this position there was no doubt as to its dissyllabic value.

Save in these two respects the rules for Chaucer's decasyllabic couplets are those of ordinary English verse. His favourite place for the pause or cæsura is after the second accented syllable, but it may come two places earlier than this, or three later, as witness the following lines all close together:

194. With grys, | and that the ſyneste of a lond
162. And after | Amor vincit omnia
165. A Monk there was | a fair for the maistrie
163. Another Nonne | with hir hadde she
164. That was hire Chapeleyne, | and Preestes thre
186. Or swynken with his handes | and labour.

Wherever the pause comes it brings a little license with it; an e-final need not be elided before a following vowel if the pause separates them, an extra syllable may be inserted,[1] a syllable may, very occasionally, be dropped.

[1] In l. 829 Prof. Liddell reads: *Ye woot youre forewar'd and it yow recorde*, and says that the insertion of *I* before *it* by the Harleian MS. makes an Alexandrine. But *Ye woot | youre fore | ward || And I | it yow | recorde* would raise no difficulty in Shakespeare, and there is no reason why it should in Chaucer.

In the same way Chaucer, like other poets, sometimes begins with an accented syllable followed by an unaccented one, instead of the more usual order, as in

Táles of best sentence and moost solas

or

Gýnglen in a whistlynge wynd als cleere,

when contrasted with the more normal

A mánly man to been an abbot able.

Lastly, as regards his rimes, even a superficial reader will soon note their unusual carefulness and exactness, and this is carried out in regard to different sounds of the same letter, as is explained in the treatises of ten Brink, Dr. Skeat, and Dr. Liddell. While thus careful to secure exact rimes, Chaucer made occasional use of the privilege recognized in French verse[1] by which the same sound, often in precisely the same spelling, may be repeated to form a rime, provided that it bears a different meaning. Thus in ll. 17, 18 he rimes *seke* (seek) with *seeke* (sick).

VI. THE TEXT OF THE CANTERBURY TALES.

THE *Canterbury Tales* have come down to us in upwards of fifty different manuscripts, of which, however, many are very imperfect. Only seven of these manuscripts have been printed, and three of these are practically useless. The four good manuscripts are called, from the owners or libraries to which they belong, the Ellesmere, Cambridge (Cambridge University Library, MS. Gg. 4), Hengwrt, and Harleian (British Museum,

[1] As in Racine, *Andromaque* ii. 1. 3-4. :

Pylade va bientôt conduire ici ses pas ;
Mais, si je m'en croyais, je ne le verrais pas

Harleian MS. 7334). Of these the Ellesmere is the best spelt and most carefully edited, and as such has been adopted as the basis of the text of all recent editions. The Cambridge and Hengwrt MSS. are both useful in correcting blunders of the Ellesmere scribe, and also, more especially the latter, offer some interesting alternative readings. The Harleian, not in other respects a very good manuscript, offers a large number of alternative readings, and the value of these is much disputed. We know that Chaucer's contemporaries, Langland and Gower, continually revised their poems, and at every revision introduced small changes We know that Chaucer himself revised his *Troilus and Cressida* in this way, and that he entirely re-wrote much of the prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*. Owing to the fact that the *Canterbury Tales* were never completed it is possible that not many copies of them were made during Chaucer's life, and the fewer the copies the less is the likelihood of his having introduced changes into the text while superintending the making of new copies. If he introduced no changes into the text, then there can be no such thing as an alternative reading. In every case only one reading can be right, and the rest are merely blunders or guesses of scribes. I understand this to be the theory of Dr. Liddell and of the German scholars, who construct diagrams to show the pedigree of the extant manuscripts through various hypothetical stages of descent. My own belief is that Chaucer did introduce changes into the text, and that it is impossible for us now to distinguish in all cases between changes which may have been made by a clever scribe and those which may be the second thoughts of the poet himself.

I, therefore, feel free occasionally to introduce into the text what appears to be a better reading on the authority of the Harleian MS. only, though as a rule I think it is only when the Harleian is supported by the Hengwrt or Cambridge MS. that the Ellesmere text should be altered.

The following list gives the chief changes from the Ellesmere text of the *Prologue* in the present edition:

40. *weren*, E. C. Hn. *were.*
68. *was* (1), E. C. Hn. *were.*
74. *was*, E. *weren*, C. Hn. *were.*
84. *greet of*, E. C. Hn. *of greet.*
92. *is*, E. *in.*
140. *been*, E. C. *to been.*
179. *cloysterlees*, E. C. Hn. *recchelees.*
188. *his swynk*, E. *his owene swynk.*
215. *And*, E. *Ful.*
217. E. C. om. *eek.*
287. *As leene*, E. *And leene* (H. *Al-so leene*).
324. *falle*, E. *y-falle.*
342. *nowher*, E. Hn. *never.*
359. *a countour*, E. C. Hn. *countour.*
364. *greet*, E. C. Hn. *a gret.*
396. *y-drawe* (C. only), E. H. Hn. *drawe.*
430. *Rufus*, E. *Risus*, H. C. Hn. *Rusus*, from the Petworth MS.
485. *y-preved*, E. C. Hn. *preved.*
510. *chaunterie*, E. C. Hn. *chauntrie.*
512. *dwelte ... kepte*, E. *dwelleth ... keepeth.*
516. E. C. Hn. *He was nat to synful man despitous.*
534. *him gamed*, E. *he gamed.*
550. *nolde*, E. *ne wolde.*
559. *wyde*, E. C. Hn. *greet.*
594. *on him wynne*, E. *of him wynne.*
607. *y-shadwed*, E. Hn. *shadwed.*
612. *and yet*, E. *yet.*
613. *lerned hadde*, E. C. *hadde lerned.*
660. *him drede* (so Corp. and Lansd.), E. C. Hn. om. *him*, Hn. *to drede.*
686. *lay*, E. C. Hn. om.
752. *han*, E. C. Hn. om.
754. *is*, E. Hn. *was.*
764. *ne saugh*, E. C. Hn. *saugh nat, sagh nat.*
778. *Now*, E. C. Hn. om.
782. *But*, E. *But if.*
— *smyteth of myn heed*, E. C. Hn. *I wol geve yow myn heed.*
803. *myselven*, E. Hn. *myself.*
— *gladly*, E. C. Hn. *goodly.*
829. *I*, E. Hn. om.

On the other hand, the Ellesmere reading has been maintained in the following doubtful cases:

60. *armee*, H. *ariue*, C. *aryue*.
77. *y-come*, H. C. Hn. *comen*.
161. *ther was first write*, H. *was first i-writen*, Hn. *was first writen*.
175. *leet olde thinges pace*, H. *leet forby hem pace*.
234. *yonge*, H. C. Hn. *faire*.
240. *al the toun*, H. C. Hn. *every toun*.
257. *as it were right a whelpe*, H. *and pleye*[*n*] *as a whelpe*.
340. *was he*, H. C. Hn. *he was*.
415. *a ful greet deel*, H. *wondurly weel*.
481. *trewely*, H. *gladly*.
548. *have alwey*, H. *bere awey*.
663. *at his owene gise*, H. *at his owne assise*.
714. *the murierly*, H. *fulmeriely*.
746. *short*, H. *thynne*.
749. *And*, H. C. Hn. *He*.
799. *oure*, H. *youre* (a reading which should have been adopted in the text).
854. *the cut*, H. *thou cut*.

VII. CHAUCER'S ASTROLOGY.

ASTROLOGICAL allusions are very frequent in the *Canterbury Tales* and often of importance for the mechanism of the stories. They are explained, with as few technicalities as possible, as they occur, but the following brief sketch of the astrology of Chaucer's day is inserted here for reference. The editor is indebted for it to Mr. Henry Jenner, F.S.A.

§ 1. The ancients believed the earth to be the centre of the Universe, and that the Seven Planets or wandering stars (which included the Sun and Moon) moved round the earth, not only in their daily motion of rising and setting, but also in their apparent motion among the fixed stars along the Zodiac.

The Zodiac (which is still used to express the apparent position of the Planets) is an imaginary band traced on the face of the Heavens, crossing the Equator diagonally, going as far north as the Tropic of Cancer, and as far south as that of Capricorn. The Ecliptic, or annual path of the Sun, is a line passing along the middle of the Zodiac, while the paths of the other Planets pass along it at a greater or less distance from that of the Sun according to their latitude. The Zodiac is divided into twelve parts of 30 degrees each, called Signs, which are named after the constellations, or groupings of fixed stars which occur in them. The names of the Signs are :

Aries (the Ram), Taurus (the Bull), Gemini (the Twins), Cancer (the Crab), Leo (the Lion), Virgo (the Virgin), Libra (the Scales or Balance), Scorpio (the Scorpion), Sagittarius (the Archer), Capricornus (the Goat), Aquarius (the Water-bearer), and Pisces (the Fishes).

§ 2. The Sun passes through the whole Zodiac in 365 days and a little less than six hours. It began in Chaucer's time with the first degree of Aries on March 12th, which was then counted as the Vernal Equinox (or time when the day and night were of equal length). That day ought to have been called the 21st, as it is now, but owing to a miscalculation, which was not corrected until 1582, an error of eight days had gradually crept in. The Sun remains in each sign about a month.

The other Planets pass through the Zodiac in periods varying from a lunar month in the case of the Moon to twenty-nine years in the case of Saturn, then the most distant Planet known.

§ 3. By the motion of the Earth on its axis, which gives the appearance of a daily motion of the whole Heavens round the Earth, each degree of every sign of the Zodiac must needs rise and set once in every twenty-four hours; but the ancients also divided the Heavens into twelve "Houses," each one of which was a twelfth part, measured by Oblique Ascension[1] of an imaginary circle, which began with the eastern horizon, and passed by way of the Nadir (or middle point below the Earth), the western horizon, and the zenith (or mid-heaven above the Earth) to the eastern horizon again. The Houses remained fixed, while the Zodiac moved round the Earth, so that all the Zodiac moved through all the Houses in succession.

§ 4. It was believed by astrologers that the positions of the Signs of the Zodiac and of the Planets with regard to the Signs, to one another, and to the Houses, exercised such influence upon the affairs of the world and of individuals that it was possible to prophesy future events by means of them, and more especially to foretell the destinies of any person by observing the conditions of the Heavens at the moment of his birth. The influences were worked out with great detail, but the general principles are fairly simple.

The Planets.—The Sun, the Moon, Jupiter, and Venus were the *Benefics*, and their effect if they were in a strong position was good.

Mars and Saturn were the *Malefics*, and their effect was generally evil, varying in strength according to their position.

[1] The Right Ascension of a Planet is its distance from the first point of Aries measured along the Ecliptic. The Oblique Ascension is the Right Ascension plus or minus (according to whether it has south or north Declination, *i.e.* distance from the Equator) its Ascensional Difference, which is the angle it forms at its rising with that part of the Equator which is rising at the same time.

Mercury, the remaining Planet, was neutral, his influence varying for good or evil according to position.

§ 5. The Planets were strong according to position in (*a*) the Houses, and (*b*) the Signs. In the Houses they were, generally speaking, strong if they were *angular*, *i.e.* in the 1st, 4th, 7th or 10th House, or near the eastern or western horizon, the Zenith or the Nadir, but the planets in any House would strongly influence the particular affairs of life to which that House was dedicated. In the Signs they were strong if they were in their "essential dignities." These are five in number: House, Exaltation, Triplicity, Terms, and Faces. Of these the House was the strongest, the Face the weakest, but a planet might be weaker still by being in his Detriment or his Fall. If a planet should be both angular and in his own House, his influence would be strong indeed, and it might be strengthened or weakened by other planets being placed at certain distances (known as "aspects") from him.

§ 6. Each sign had its ruling planet, of which it was the House. The Exaltation of a planet was a particular degree of some sign, and the signs were divided into four Triplicities, those of Fire, Earth, Air, and Water, each of which groups of signs was governed by certain planets in a lesser degree. The Terms were certain degrees of Signs similar to Exaltations, but weaker, and the Faces were third parts of Signs, whose effect was very slight. Except the Sun and Moon, which had the same House for both day and night, each planet had two Houses, a diurnal and a nocturnal. They are divided thus:

The Sun, Leo; the Moon, Cancer; Mercury, Gemini and Virgo; Venus, Libra and Taurus; Mars, Aries and Scorpio; Jupiter, Sagittarius and Pisces; Saturn, Aquarius and Capricorn. The planets were said to be Lords of their respective Houses.

The Exaltation of the Sun is in Aries, 19°; the Moon, Taurus 3°; Mercury, Virgo 15°; Venus, Pisces 27°; Mars, Capricorn 28°; Jupiter, Cancer 15°; Saturn, Libra 21°.

The Fiery Triplicity of Aries, Leo and Sagittarius dignifies the Sun by day and Jupiter by night. The Earthy Triplicity of Taurus, Virgo and Capricorn dignifies Venus by day and the Moon by night. The Aerial Triplicity of Gemini, Libra and Aquarius dignifies Saturn by day and Mercury by night. The Watery Triplicity of Cancer, Scorpio and Pisces dignifies Mars by both day and night.

The Terms and Faces of the various planets are numerous, but astrologically of little importance. The Detriment of a planet is the sign of the Zodiac exactly opposed to its House. Its Fall is that exactly opposite to its Exaltation.

§ 7. Though the Planets may be roughly divided into Benefics and Malefics, and though the Sun and the Moon may be said to produce *general* good effects and Saturn *general* bad ones, Jupiter

especially rules public employment, success in life, etc.; Mars, the evils of war and fire; Venus, the affairs of love and the heart; and Mercury, art, literature, etc., in good effects, and perverted skill, thieving and swindling in bad.

§ 8. The Signs of the Zodiac were supposed to aid the description of personal appearance, and to govern diseases of various parts of the body, certain of which were assigned to each, varying with signs. Their qualities are partly indicated by their names, and partly by the characteristics of the planets which rule them, but were modified in practice by the planets which happened to be present in them.

§ 9. The Twelve Houses were held to govern certain affairs of life, and the Signs and Planets found in them produced their effects on such affairs. The First governed personal appearance, qualities, and disposition; the Second, estate and fortune; the Third, kindred; the Fourth, parents; the Fifth, children; the Sixth, servants and cattle; the Seventh, marriage; the Eighth, inheritances; the Ninth, journeys; the Tenth, honours and preferments; the Eleventh, friends and friendships; the Twelfth, enemies and misfortunes. Of these Houses the First, called the Ascendant, because the Signs and Planets in it are just in the act of rising, is the most important, and next to it in power is the Tenth House, whose Sign and Planets are just approaching the Mid-heaven or Zenith.

§ 10. There were four principal applications of astrology:

1. Genethliacal Astrology, or the calculation of the future of any person from the position of the heavens at his birth. Usually called "casting nativities."

2. Mundane Astrology, or the calculation of the fortunes of nations from the position of the heavens at certain periods.

3. Meteorological Astrology, or the foretelling of the weather by the position of the planets at periods of the Sun and the Moon.

4. Horary Astrology, or the solution of miscellaneous questions by the position of the heavens at the time that the question was asked, or the business, illness, or whatever it may be, began. Medical Astrology was a branch of Horary.

Of these Genethliacal and Horary are the most important, for Mundane Astrology was worked on lines very similar to Genethliacal, and Meteorological Astrology requires but little explaining.

Nativities were calculated by erecting a figure or scheme of the heavens at the moment of birth, and from this the general fortunes, appearance, etc., of the "native" were foretold. The exact date at which any event might be expected, and its nature, were determined by the calculation of "directions," that is to say, by measuring the space between the position of a planet at birth and a position (to which it must be tending) in which it would form an

"aspect" with some other planet, or with some angle, such as the ascendant, as it was in the original figure. Taking a degree of this "arc of direction," as it was called, to represent a year of life, the exact date of important events might be fixed. The principal aspects were:

1. The Conjunction (good or bad according to the planets forming it), signified two planets in or close to the same degree of the same Sign.
2. The Sextile (good), forming an angle of 60° or two Houses.
3. The Square (bad), forming a right angle (90°), or three Houses.
4. The Trine (good), forming an angle of 120°, or four Houses.
5. The Sesquiquadrate (bad), forming an angle of 135°.
6. The Opposition (bad), at a distance of 180°, or six Houses.

The aspect might be calculated in *Zodiaco*, or by means of Right Ascension, or in *Mundo*, by Oblique Ascension, and the proportional parts of the Houses.

Horary Astrology dealt chiefly with the effects attributed to the Twelve Houses. A figure was erected representing the position of the heavens at the time of application, at the time of the beginning any business of which it was required to determine the result, or of that of some illness, the treatment of which was to be decided. Frequently some planet, usually the lord of the Ascendant in the figure, was taken as the "significator" of the "querent," and some other as the significator of the "quesited," or person concerning whom information is required, and the positions, aspects, and signs of these planets were carefully considered, as was also the House which affected the class of matters under consideration. There were almost endless varieties of this form of enquiry into the future.

§ 11. The Hours of the Planets, to which Chaucer alludes in the *Knight's Tale*, were not of much account in what may be termed Scientific Astrology. The first hour (sunrise) of the first day of the week was assigned to the Sun, that of the second day to the Moon, and so on through the week, each day beginning with the hour of its name-planet. It will be seen that if one begins with the first hour of Saturday, assigning that to Saturn, and continues to assign an hour to each planet in their supposed order of proximity to the earth, viz., Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon, throughout the week, the first planetary hour of each twenty-four will be that of the name-planet of the day. This is probably the origin of the Latin names of the days of the week, of which the English are only translations based upon early notions of comparative mythology.

§ 12. To each planet a metal was assigned. To Saturn, a dull blue planet, lead was given; to Jupiter, a bright but also bluish

planet, tin; to the red planet Mars, iron; to the Sun, gold; to Venus, the star of the Cyprian goddess, *cyprium* or copper; to the nimble Mercury, quicksilver; to the Moon, silver; and to this day quicksilver is called *mercury*, and nitrate of silver, *lunar* caustic. In maps of Cornwall and other mining districts the symbols of planets are used to mark the presence of mines of their respective metals: ♀ (Venus) for copper, ♃ (Jupiter) for tin, ♄ (Saturn) for lead, and ♂ (Mars) for iron.

Another noticeable survival of astrological ideas is to be found in the words saturnine, jovial, martial, venereal, mercurial, and lunatic.

THE CANTERBURY TALES

THE PROLOGUE

Here bygynneth the Book of the tales of Caunterbury

WHAN that Aprílle with his shourés soote
The droghte of March hath percéd to the roote,
And bathéd every veyne in swich licóur
Of which vertú engendred is the flour;
Whan Zephirus eek with his swetè breeth
Inspiréd hath in every holt and heeth
The tendrè croppès, and the yongè sonne
Hath in the Ram his halfè cours y-ronne,
And smalè fowelès maken melodye,
That slepen al the nyght with open eye,—
So priketh hem Natúre in hir coráges,—
Thanne longen folk to goon on pilgrimages,
And palmeres for to seken straungè strondes.
To fernè halwès, kowthe in sondry londes,
And specially, from every shirès ende
Of Engèlond, to Caunturbury they wende,
The hooly blisful martir for to seke,
That hem hath holpen whan that they were seeke.

Bifil that in that seson on a day,
In Southwerk at the Tabard as I lay,
Redy to wenden on my pilgrymage
To Caunterbury with ful devout corage,
At nyght were come into that hostelrye
Wel nyne-and-twenty in a compaignye,
Of sondry folk, by áventure y-falle
In felaweshipe, and pilgrimes were they alle,
That toward Caunterbury wolden ryde.
The chambres and the stables weren wyde,
And wel we weren esėd attė beste.
And shortly, whan the sonnė was to reste,
So hadde I spoken with hem everychon,
That I was of hir felaweshipe anon,
And madė forward erly for to ryse,
To take oure wey, ther as I yow devyse.
But nathėlees, whil I have tyme and space,
Er that I ferther in this talė pace,
Me thynketh it accordaunt to resoun
To tellė yow al the condicioun
Of ech of hem, so as it semėd me,
And whiche they weren and of what degree,
And eek in what arrày that they were inne;
And at a Knyght than wol I first bigynne.

A KNYGHT ther was and that a worthy man,
That fro the tymė that he first bigan
To riden out, he lovėd chivalrie,
Trouthe and honóur, fredom and curteisie.
Ful worthy was he in his lordės werre,

And therto hadde he riden, no man ferre,
As wel in cristendom as in hethénesse,
And ever honóurèd for his worthynesse.
At Alisaundre he was whan it was wonne;
Ful oftè tyme he hadde the bord bigonne
Aboven allè nacïons in Pruce.
In Lettow hadde he reysèd and in Ruce,—
No cristen man so ofte of his degree.
In Gernade at the seege eek hadde he be
Of Algezir, and riden in Belmarye.
At Lyeys was he, and at Satalye,
Whan they were wonne; and in the Gretè See
At many a noble armee hadde he be.
At mortal batailles hadde he been fiftene,
And foughten for oure feith at Tramyssene
In lystès thriès, and ay slayn his foo.
This ilkè worthy knyght hadde been also
Somtymè with the lord of Palatye
Agayn another hethen in Turkye;
And evermoore he hadde a sovereyn prys.
And though that he was worthy, he was wys,
And of his port as meeke as is a mayde.
He never yet no vileynye ne sayde,
In al his lyf, unto no maner wight.
He was a verray parfit, gentil knyght.
But for to tellen yow of his array,
His hors was goode, but he ne was nat gay;
Of fustian he weredd a gypon
Al bismotered with his habergeon,
For he was late y-come from his viage,

And wentė for to doon his pilgrymage.
With hym ther was his sone, a yong SQUIÉR,
A lovyere and a lusty bacheler,
With lokkės crulle as they were leyd in presse.
Of twenty yeer of age he was, I gesse.
Of his statúre he was of evene lęngthe,
And wonderly delyvere and greet of strengthe;
And he hadde been somtyme in chyvachie,
In Flaundrės, in Artoys and Pycardie,
And born hym weel, as of so litel space,
In hope to stonden in his lady grace.
Embrouded was he, as it were a meede
Al ful of fresshė flourės whyte and reede;
Syngynge he was, or floytynge, al the day;
He was as fressh as is the monthe of May.
Short was his gowne, with slevės longe and wyde;
Wel koude he sitte on hors and fairė ryde;
He koudė songės make and wel endite,
Juste and eek daunce and weel purtreye and write.
So hoote he lovėde that by nyghtertale
He sleep namoore than dooth a nyghtyngale.
Curteis he was, lowely and servysáble,
And carf biforn his fader at the table.

A YEMAN hadde he and servántz namo
At that tyme, for hym listė ridė soo;
And he was clad in cote and hood of grene.
A sheef of pecock arwės bright and kene,
Under his belt he bar ful thriftily—
Wel koude he dresse his takel yemanly;

His arwès droupèd noght with fetherès lowe—
And in his hand he baar a myghty bowe.
A not-heed hadde he, with a broun viságe.
Of woodècraft wel koude he al the uságe.
Upon his arm he baar a gay bracér,
And by his syde a swerd and a bokeler,
And on that oother syde a gay daggere,
Harneisèd wel and sharpe as point of spere;
A Cristophere on his brest of silver sheene.
An horn he bar, the bawdryk was of grene.
A forster was he, soothly as I gesse.

Ther was also a Nonne, a PRIORESSE,
That of hir smylyng was ful symple and coy;
Hire gretteste ooth was but by seint Loy,
And she was clepèd madame Eglentyne.
Ful weel she soong the servicè dyvyne,
Entunèd in hir nose ful semèly;
And Frenssh she spak ful faire and fetisly,
After the scole of Stratford-attè-Bowe,
For Frenssh of Parys was to hire unknowe.
At metè wel y-taught was she with-alle;
She leet no morsel from hir lippès falle,
Ne wette hir fyngrès in hir saucè depe.
Wel koude she carie a morsel and wel kepe,
Thát no drope ne fille upon hire breste;
In curteisie was set ful muchel hir leste.
Hire over-lippè wypèd she so clene,
That in hir coppe ther was no ferthyng sene
Of grecè, whan she dronken hadde hir draughte.

Ful semėly after hir mete she raughte,
And sikerly she was of greet desport,
And ful plesáunt and amyable of port,
And peynėd hire to countrefetė cheere
Of court, and been estatlich of manere,
And to ben holden digne of reverence.
But for to speken of hire conscïence,
She was so charitable and so pitous
She woldė wepe, if that she saugh a mous
Kaught in a trappe, if it were deed or bledde.
Of smalė houndės hadde she that she fedde
With rosted flessh, or milk and wastel breed;
But soorė wepte she if oon of hem were deed,
Or if men smoot it with a yerdė smerte;
And al was conscïence and tendrė herte.

Ful semyly hir wympul pynchėd was;
Hire nose tretys, her eyen greye as glas,
Hir mouth ful smal and ther-to softe and reed;
But sikerly she hadde a fair forheed;
It was almoost a spannė brood I trowe;
For, hardily, she was nat undergrowe.
Ful fetys was hir cloke, as I was war;
Of smal coral aboute hire arm she bar
A peire of bedės, gauded al with grene,
And ther-on heng a brooch of gold ful sheene,
On which was first i-writen a crownėd A,
And after *Amor vincit omnia.*

Another NONNÊ with hire haddė she,
That was hire Chapėleyne, and PREESTĖS thre.

A Monk ther was, a fair for the maistrie,
An outridere, that lovėde venerie;
A manly man, to been an abbot able.
Ful many a deyntee hors hadde he in stable;
And whan he rood men myghte his brydel heere
Gýnglen in a whistlynge wynd als cleere,
And eek as loude, as dooth the chapel belle,
Ther as this lord was kepere of the celle.
The reule of seint Maure or of seint Beneit,
By-cause that it was old and som-del streit,
This ilkė Monk leet oldė thynges pace,
And heeld after the newė world the space.
He yaf nat of that text a pulléd hen
That seith that hunters beth nat hooly men,
Ne that a Monk whan he is cloysterles
Is likned til a fissh that is waterles;
This is to seyn, a Monk out of his cloystre.
But thilkė text heeld he nat worth an oystre;
And I seyde his opinioun was good.
What sholde he studie and make hymselven wood,
Upon a book in cloystre alwey to poure,
Or swynken with his handės and labóure,
As Austyn bit? how shal the world be served?
Lat Austyn have his swynk to him reserved.
Therfore he was a prikasour aright;
Grehoundes he hadde, as swift as fowel in flight:
Of prikyng and of huntyng for the hare
Was al his lust, for no cost wolde he spare.
I seigh his sleves y-purfiled at the hond
With grys, and that the fyneste of a lond;

And for to festne his hood under his chyn
He hadde of gold y-wroght a curious pyn,
A love-knotte in the gretter ende ther was.
His heed was balled that shoon as any glas,
And eek his face as he hadde been enoynt.
He was a lord ful fat and in good poynt;
His eyen stepe and rollynge in his heed,
That stemed as a forneys of a leed;
His bootes souple, his hors in greet estaat,
Now certeinly he was a fair prelaat.
He was nat pale, as a forpyned goost:
A fat swan loved he best of any roost.
His palfrey was as broun as is a berye.

A FRERE ther was, a wantowne and a merye,
A lymytour, a ful solempne man.
In alle the ordres foure is noon that kan
So moche of daliaunce and fair langage.
He haddè maad ful many a marïage
Of yongè wommen at his owene cost:
Unto his ordre he was a noble post.
Ful wel biloved and famulier was he
With frankeleyns over al in his contree,
And eek with worthy wommen of the toun;
For he hadde power of confessïoun,
As seyde hym-self, moorè than a curát,
For of his ordre he was licenciat.
Ful swetely herde he confessioun,
And plesaunt was his absolucioun.
He was an esy man to yeve penaunce

There as he wiste to have a good pitaunce;
For unto a poure ordre for to yive
Is signė that a man is wel y-shryve;
For, if he yaf, he dorstė make avaunt
He wistė that a man was répentaunt:
For many a man so harde is of his herte
He may nat wepe al-thogh hym soorė smerte.
Therfore in stede of wepynge and preyėres
Men moote yeve silver to the pourė freres.
His typet was ay farsėd full of knyves
And pynnės, for to yeven fairė wyves.
And certeinly he hadde a murye note;
Wel koude he synge and pleyen on a rote.
Of yeddynges he baar outrėly the pris;
His nekkė whit was as the flour-de-lys,
Ther-to he strong was as a champioun.
He knew the tavernes well in every toun,
And everich hostiler and tappestere
Bet than a lazar or a beggestere;
For unto swich a worthy man as he
Acordėd nat, as by his facultee,
To have with sikė lazars aqueyntaunce;
It is nat honeste, it may nat avaunce
Fór to deelen with no swich poraille;
But al with riche and selléres of vitaille.
And over al, ther as profit sholde arise,
Curteis he was and lowely of servyse:
Ther nas no man nowher so vertuous.
He was the bestė beggere in his hous;
For thogh a wydwe haddė noght a sho,

So plesaunt was his *In principio*,
Yet wolde he have a ferthyng er he wente:
His purchas was wel bettre than his rente.
And rage he koude, as it were right a whelpe.
In lovė-dayes ther koude he muchel helpe,
For there he was nat lyk a cloysterer
With a thredbare cope, as is a poure scolér,
But he was lyk a maister, or a pope;
Of double worstede was his semycope,
That rounded as a belle out of the presse.
Somwhat he lipsėd for his wantownesse,
To make his Englissh sweet upon his tonge,
And in his harpyng, whan that he hadde songe,
His eyėn twynkled in his heed aryght
As doon the sterrės in the frosty nyght.
This worthy lymytour was cleped Huberd.

A MARCHANT was ther with a forkėd berd,
In mottėleye, and hye on horse he sat;
Upon his heed a Flaundryssh bevere hat;
His bootės claspėd faire and fetisly;
His resons he spak ful solémpnėly,
Sownynge alway thencrees of his wynnyng.
He wolde the see were kept for any thing
Bitwixė Middelburgh and Orėwelle.
Wel koude he in eschaungė sheeldės selle.
This worthy man ful wel his wit bisette,
Ther wistė no wight that he was in dette,
So estatly was he of his gouvernaunce,
With his bargaynes and with his chevyssaunce.

For sothe he was a worthy man with-alle,
But, sooth to seyn, I noot how men hym calle.

A CLERK ther was of Oxenford also,
That unto logyk haddė longe y-go.
As leenė was his hors as is a rake,
And he nas nat right fat, I undertake,
But lookėd holwe, and ther-to sobrely;
Ful thredbare was his overeste courtepy;
For he hadde geten hym yet no benefice,
Ne was so worldly for to have office;
For hym was levere have at his beddes heed
Twénty bookės, clad in blak or reed,
Of Aristotle and his philosophie,
Than robės riche, or fithele, or gay sautrie:
But al be that he was a philosophre,
Yet haddė he but litel gold in cofre;
But al that he myghte of his freendės hente
On bookės and his lernynge he it spente,
And bisily gan for the soulės preye
Of hem that yaf hym wher-with to scoleye.
Of studie took he moost cure and moost heede,
Noght o word spak he mooré than was neede,
And that was seyd in forme and reverence,
And short and quyk and ful of hy senténce.
Sownynge in moral vertu was his speche
And gladly wolde he lerne and gladly teche.

A SERGEANT OF THE LAWĖ, war and wys,
That often haddė been at the Parvys,

Ther was also, ful riche of excellence.
Discreet he was, and of greet reverence;
He semėd swich, his wordės weren so wise.
Justice he was ful often in assise,
By patente and by pleyn commissioun:
For his science and for his heigh renoun
Of fees and robės hadde he many oon;
So greet a purchasour was nowher noon.
Al was fee symple to hym in effect,
His purchasyng myghtė nat been infect.
Nowher so bisy a man as he ther nas,
And yet he semėd bisier than he was.
In termės hadde he caas and doomės alle
That from the tyme of kyng William were falle;
Ther-to he coude endite and make a thyng,
Ther koudė no wight pynche at his writyng;
And every statut coude he pleyn by rote.
He rood but hoomly in a medlee cote,
Girt with a ceint of silk, with barrės smale;
Of his array telle I no lenger tale.

A FRANKĖLEYN was in his compaignye.
Whit was his berd as is a dayėsye.
Of his complexioun he was sangwyn;
Wel loved he by the morwe a sope in wyn.
To lyven in delit was ever his wone,
For he was Epicurus owenė sone,
That heeld opinioun that pleyn delit
Was verraily felicitee parfit.
An housholdere, and that a greet, was he:

Seint Julian was he in his contree;
His breed, his ale, was alwey after oon;
A bettre envynėd man was nowher noon.
Withoutė bakė mete was never his hous,
Of fissh and flessh, and that so plėnteuous,
It snewėd in his hous of mete and drynke,
Of allė deyntees that men koudė thynke.
After the sondry sesons of the yeer,
So chaungėd he his mete and his soper.
Ful many a fat partrich hadde he in muwe,
And many a breem and many a luce in stuwe.
Wo was his cook but if his saucė were
Poynaunt and sharpe, and redy al his geere.
His table dormant in his halle alway,
Stood redy covered al the longė day.
At sessiouns ther was he lord and sire;
Ful oftė tyme he was knyght of the shire.
An anlaas, and a gipser al of silk,
Heeng at his girdel, whit as mornė milk.
A shirreve hadde he been, and a countour;
Was nowher such a worthy vavasour.

An HABERDASSHERE, and a CARPENTER,
A WEBBE, a DYERE, and a TAPYCER,—
And they were clothed alle in o lyveree
Of a solémpne and greet fraternitee;
Ful fressh and newe hir geere apikėd was;
Hir knyvės werė chapėd noght with bras,
But al with silver, wroght ful clene and weel,
Hire girdles and hir pouches everydeel.

Wel semėd ech of hem a fair burgeys
To sitten in a yeldehalle, on a deys.
Éverich for the wisdom that he kan
Was shaply for to been an alderman,
For catel haddė they ynogh and rente.
And eek hir wyvės wolde it wel assente,
And ellės certeyn werė they to blame;
It is ful fair to been y-cleped *Madame*,
And goon to vigiliės al bifore,
And have a mantel roialliche y-bore.

A Cook they haddė with hem for the nones,
To boille the chiknės with the marybones,
And poudre-marchant tart and galyngale.
Wel koude he knowe a draughte of Londoun ale;
He koudė rooste and sethe and boille and frye,
Máken mortreux and wel bake a pye.
But greet harm was it, as it thoughtė me,
That on his shyne a mormal haddė he.
For blankmanger, that made he with the beste.

A Shipman was ther, wonynge fer by weste;
For aught I woot he was of Dertėmouthe.
He rood upon a rouncy as he kouthe,
Ín a gowne of faldyng to the knee.
A daggere hangynge on a laas hadde he
Aboute his nekke under his arm adoun.
The hootė somer hadde maad his hewe al broun;
And certeinly he was a good felawe.
Ful many a draughte of wyn hadde he y-drawe

Fro Burdeux-ward, whil that the chapman sleepe.
Of nycė conscïence took he no keepe.
If that he faught, and hadde the hyer hond,
By water he sente hem hoom to every lond.
But of his craft to rekene wel his tydes,
His stremės and his daungers hym bisides,
His herberwe and his moone, his lode-menage,
Ther nas noon swich from Hullė to Cartage.
Hardy he was, and wys to undertake:
With many a tempest hadde his berd been shake.
He knew wel alle the havenes, as they were,
From Gootlond to the Cape of Fynystere,
And every cryke in Britaigne and in Spayne.
His barge y-clepėd was the Maudėlayne.

With us ther was a DOCTOUR OF PHISIK;
In all this world ne was ther noon hym lik,
To speke of phisik and of surgerye;
For he was grounded in astronomye.
He kepte his pacïent a ful greet deel
In hourės, by his magyk natureel.
Wel koude he fortunen the ascendent
Of his ymáges for his pacïent.
He knew the cause of everich maladye,
Were it of hoot, or cold, or moyste, or drye,
And where they engendred and of what humour;
He was a verray parfit praktisour.
The cause y-knowe and of his harm the roote,
Anon he yaf the sikė man his boote.
Ful redy hadde he his apothecaries

To sende him droggès and his letuaries,
For ech of hem made oother for to wynne,
Hir frendshipe nas nat newè to bigynne.
Wel knew he the oldè Esculapius
And Deÿscorides, and eek Rufus,
Olde Ypocras, Haly and Galyen,
Serapion, Razis and Avycen,
Averrois, Damascien and Constantyn,
Bernard and Gatèsden and Gilbertyn.
Of his dietè mesurable was he,
For it was of no superfluitee,
But of greet norissyng and digestíble.
His studie was but litel on the Bible.
In sangwyn and in pers he clad was al,
Lynèd with taffata and with sendal.
And yet he was but èsy of dispence;
He keptè that he wan in pestilence.
For gold in phisik is a cordial;
Therfore he lovède gold in special.

A Good wif was ther of bisidè Bathe,
But she was som-del deef, and that was scathe.
Of clooth-makyng she haddè swich an haunt
She passèd hem of Yprès and of Gaunt.
In al the parisshe wif ne was ther noon
That to the offrynge bifore hire sholdè goon;
And if ther dide, certeyn so wrooth was she,
That she was out of allè charitee.
Hir coverchiefs ful fynè weren of ground,—
I dorstè swere they weyèden ten pound,—

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SRINAGAR.

That on a Sonday weren upon hir heed.
Hir hosen weren of fyn scarlet reed,
Ful streite y-teyd, and shoes ful moyste and newe.
Boold was hir face, and fair, and reed of hewe.
She was a worthy womman al hir lyve,
Housbondes at chirchė dore she haddė fyve,
Withouten oother compaignye in youthe,—
But ther-of nedeth nat to speke as nowthe,—
And thriės hadde she been at Jerusálem;
She haddė passėd many a straungė strem;
At Rome she haddė been, and at Boloigne,
In Galice at Seint Jame, and at Cologne.
She koudė muchel of wandrynge by the weye.
Gat-tothėd was she, soothly for to seye.
Upon an amblere esily she sat,
Y-wymplėd wel, and on hir heed an hat
As brood as is a bokeler or a targe;
A foot mantel aboute hir hipės large,
And on hire feet a paire of sporės sharpe.
In felaweshipe wel koude she laughe and carpe;
Of remedies of love she knew per chaunce,
For she koude of that art the oldė daunce.

A good man was ther of religioun,
And was a POURĖ PERSOUN OF A TOUN;
But riche he was of hooly thoght and werk;
He was also a lernėd man, a clerk,
That Cristės Gospel trewėly wolde preche:
His parisshens devoutly wolde he teche.
Benygne he was, and wonder diligent,

And in adversitee ful pacient;
And swich he was y-prevėd oftė sithes.
Ful looth were hym to cursen for his tithes,
But rather wolde he yeven, out of doute,
Unto his pourė parisshens aboute,
Of his offrýng and eek of his substaunce:
He koude in litel thyng have suffisaunce.
Wyd was his parisshe, and houses fer asonder,
But he ne laftė nat for reyn ne thonder,
In siknesse, nor in meschief, to visíte
The ferreste in his parisshe, muche and lite,
Upon his feet, and in his hand a staf.
This noble ensample to his sheepe he yaf,
That firste he wroghte and afterward he taughte.
Out of the gospel he tho wordės caughte,
And this figure he added eek therto,
That if gold rustė what shal iren doo?
For if a preest be foul, on whom we truste,
No wonder is a lewėd man to ruste;
And shame it is, if a prest takė keepe,
A shiten shepherde and a clenė sheepe.
Wel oghte a preest ensample for to yive
By his clennesse how that his sheepe sholde lyve.
He settė nat his benefice to hyre
And leet his sheepe encombred in the myre,
And ran to Londoun, unto Seint Poules,
To seken hym a chaunterie for soules;
Or with a bretherhed to been withholde,
But dwelte at hoom and keptė wel his folde,
So that the wolf ne made it nat myscarie,—

He was a shepherde, and noght a mercenarie:
And though he hooly were and vertuous,
He was to synful man nat despitous,
Ne of his speché daungerous ne digne,
But in his techyng díscreet and benygne.
To drawen folk to hevene by fairnesse,
By good ensample, this was his bisynesse:
But it were any persone obstinat,
What so he were, of heigh or lough estat,
Hym wolde he snybben sharply for the nonys.
A bettré preest I trowe that nowher noon ys;
He waited after no pompe ne reverence,
Ne maked him a spicéd conscience,
But Cristés loore, and his Apostles twelve,
He taughte, and first he folwed it hym selve.

With hym ther was a PLOWMAN, was his brother,
That hadde y-lad of dong ful many a fother,—
A trewé swynkere and a good was he,
Lyvynge in pees and parfit charitee.
God loved he best, with al his hoolé herte,
At allé tymés, thogh him gamed or smerte,
And thanne his neighébore right as hymselve.
He woldé thresshe, and therto dyke and delve,
For Cristés sake, for every pouré wight,
Withouten hire, if it lay in his myght.
His tithés payéde he ful faire and wel,
Bothe of his proprè swynk and his catel.
In a tabard he rood upon a mere.

Ther was also a REVE and a MILLERE,
A SOMNOUR and a PARDONER also,
A MAUNCIPLE and myself,—ther were namo.

The MILLERE was a stout carl for the nones,
Ful byg he was of brawn and eek of bones;
That provėd wel, for over-al, ther he cam,
At wrastlynge he wolde have alwey the ram.
He was short-sholdred, brood, a thikkė knarre,
Ther nas no dore that he nolde heve of harre,
Or breke it at a rennyng with his heed.
His berd, as any sowe or fox, was reed,
And therto brood, as though it were a spade.
Upon the cope right of his nose he hade
A werte, and theron stood a toft of herys,
Reed as the brustles of a sowės erys;
His nosėthirlės blakė were and wyde;
A swerd and a bokeler bar he by his syde;
His mouth as wyde was as a greet forneys,
He was a janglere and a goliardeys,
And that was moost of synne and harlotriës.
Wel koude he stelen corn and tollen thriës,
And yet he hadde a thombe of gold, pardee.
A whit cote and a blew hood werėd he.
A baggėpipe wel koude he blowe and sowne,
And therwithal he broghte us out of towne.

A gentil MAUNCIPLE was ther of a temple,
Of which achátours myghtė take exemple
For to be wise in byynge of vitaille;
For, wheither that he payde or took by taille,

Algate he wayted so in his achaat
That he was ay biforn and in good staat.
Now is nat that of God a ful fair grace,
That swich a lewėd mannės wit shal pace
The wisdom of an heepe of lerned men?
Of maistrės hadde he mo than thriës ten,
That weren of lawe expert and curious,
Of whiche ther weren a duszeyne in that hous
Worthy to been stywardes of rente and lond
Of any lord that is in Engėlond,
To maken hym lyvė by his proprė good,
In honour dettelees, but if he were wood,
Or lyve as scarsly as hym list desire;
And able for to helpen al a shire,
In any caas that myghtė falle or happe,
And yet this Manciple sette hir aller cappe.

The REVĖ was a sclendrė colerik man,
His berd was shave as ny as ever he kan;
His heer was by his erys ful round y-shorn,
His tope was dokėd lyk a preest biforn,
Ful longė were his leggės and ful lene,
Y-lyk a staf, there was no calf y-sene.
Wel koude he kepe a gerner and a bynne;
Ther was noon auditour koude on him wynne.
Wel wiste he, by the droghte and by the reyn,
The yeldynge of his seed and of his greyn.
His lordės sheepe, his neet, his dayėrye,
His swyn, his hors, his stoor, and his pultrye,
Was hoolly in this revės governyng,

And by his covenant yaf the rekenyng
Syn that his lord was twenty yeer of age;
There koude no man brynge hym in arrerage.
There nas baillif, ne hierde, nor oother hyne,
That he ne knew his sleighte and his covyne;
They were adrad of hym as of the deeth.
His wonyng was ful faire upon an heeth,
With grenė trees y-shadwėd was his place.
He koudė bettrė than his lord purchace.
Ful riche he was a-storėd pryvely,
His lord wel koude he plesen subtilly
To yeve and lene hym of his owene good
And have a thank, and yet a gowne and hood.
In youthe he lernėd hadde a good myster;
He was a wel good wrighte, a carpenter.
This Revė sat upon a ful good stot,
That was al pomely grey, and hightė Scot;
A long surcote of pers upon he hade,
And by his syde he baar a rusty blade.
Of Northfolk was this Reve of which I telle,
Biside a toun men clepen Baldėswelle.
Tukkėd he was as is a frere, aboute,
And ever he rood the hyndreste of oure route.

A SOMONOUR was ther with us in that place,
That hadde a fyr-reed cherubynnės face,
For sawcėfleem he was, with eyen narwe.
As hoot he was, and lecherous, as a sparwe,
With scalėd browės blake and pilėd berd,—
Of his visagė children were aferd.

Ther nas quyk-silver, lytarge, ne brymstoon,
Boras, ceruce, ne oille of tartre noon,
Ne oynėment that woldė clense and byte,
That hym myghte helpen of his whelkės white,
Nor of the knobbės sittynge on his chekes.
Wel loved he garleek, oynons, and eek lekes,
And for to drynken strong wyn, reed as blood;
Thanne wolde he speke, and crie as he were wood.
And whan that he wel dronken hadde the wyn,
Than wolde he spekė no word but Latyn.
A fewė termės hadde he, two or thre,
That he had lernėd out of som decree,—
No wonder is, he herde it al the day,
And eek ye knowen wel how that a jay
Kan clepen *Watte* as wel as kan the pope.
But whoso koude in oother thyng hym grope,
Thanne hadde he spent al his philosophie;
Ay *Questio quid juris* wolde he crie.
He was a gentil harlot and a kynde;
A bettre felawe sholdė men noght fynde.
He woldė suffre, for a quart of wyn,
A good felawe to have his concubyn
A twelf monthe, and excuse hym attė fulle;
And privėly a fynch eek koude he pulle;
And if he foond owher a good felawe,
He woldė techen him to have noon awe
In swich caas, of the Ercėdekenes curs,
But-if a mannės soule were in his purs;
For in his purs he sholde y-punysshed be:
'Purs is the Ercėdekenes helle,' seyde he.

But wel I woot he lyėd right in dede,
Of cursyng oghte ech gilty man him drede,
For curs wol slee,—right as assoillyng savith;
And also war him of a *Significavit.*
In daunger hadde he at his owėne gise
The yongė girlės of the diocise,
And knew hir conseil, and was al hir reed.
A gerland hadde he set upon his heed,
As greet as it were for an alė-stake;
A bokeleer hadde he maad him of a cake.

With hym ther rood a gentil PARDONER
Of Rouncivale, his freend and his compeer,
That streight was comen fro the court of Romė.
Ful loude he soong *Com hider, lovė, to me!*
This Somonour bar to hym a stif burdoun,
Was never trompe of half so greet a soun.
This Pardoner hadde heer as yelow as wex,
But smothe it heeng as dooth a strike of flex;
By ounces henge his lokkės that he hadde,
And therwith he his shuldres overspradde.
But thynne it lay, by colpons, oon and oon;
But hood, for jolitee, ne wered he noon,
For it was trussėd up in his walėt.
Hym thoughte he rood al of the newė jet;
Dischevelee, save his cappe, he rood al bare.
Swiche glarynge eyen hadde he as an hare.
A vernycle hadde he sowed upon his cappe;
His walet lay biforn hym in his lappe
Bret-ful of pardon, comen from Rome al hoot.

A voys he hadde as smal as hath a goot;
No berd hadde he, ne never sholdė have,
As smothe it was as it were late y-shave;
But of his craft, fro Berwyk unto Ware,
Ne was ther swich another pardoner;
For in his male he hadde a pilwė-beer,
Which that, he seydė, was oure lady veyl;
He seyde he hadde a gobet of the seyl
That Seïnt Peter hadde, whan that he wente
Upon the see, til Jhesu Crist hym hente.
He hadde a croys of latoun, ful of stones,
And in a glas he haddė piggės bones.
But with thise relikės, whan that he fond
A pourė person dwellynge upon lond,
Upon a day he gat hym moore moneye
Than that the person gat in monthės tweye;
And thus with feynėd flaterye and japes
He made the person and the peple his apes.
But, trewėly to tellen attė laste,
He was in chirche a noble ecclesiaste;
Wel koude he rede a lessoun or a storie,
But alderbest he song an offertorie;
For wel he wistė, whan that song was songe,
He mostė preche, and wel affile his tonge
To wynnė silver, as he ful wel koude;
Therefore he song the murierly and loude.

Now have I toold you shortly, in a clause,
The staat, tharray, the nombre, and eek the cause
Why that assembled was this compaignye

In Southwerk, at this gentil hostelrye,
That highte the Tabard, fastė by the Belle.
But now is tymė to yow for to telle
How that we baren us that ilkė nyght,
Whan we were in that hostelrie alyght;
And after wol I telle of our viage
And al the remenaunt of oure pilgrimage.
But first, I pray yow of youre curteisye,
That ye narette it nat my vileynye,
Thogh that I pleynly speke in this mateere
To tellė yow hir wordės and hir cheere,
Ne thogh I speke hir wordės proprely;
For this ye knowen al-so wel as I,
Whoso shal telle a tale after a man,
He moote reherce, as ny as ever he kan,
Everich a word, if it be in his charge,
Al speke he never so rudėliche or large;
Or ellis he moot telle his tale untrewe,
Or feynė thyng, or fyndė wordės newe.
He may nat spare, althogh he were his brother;
He moot as wel seye o word as another.
Crist spak hymself ful brode in hooly writ,
And wel ye woot no vileynye is it.
Eek Plato seith, whoso that kan hym rede,
'The wordės moote be cosyn to the dede.'
Also I prey yow to foryeve it me,
Al have I nat set folk in hir degree
Heere in this tale, as that they sholdė stonde;
My wit is short, ye may wel understonde.
Greet chierė made oure hoost us everichon,

And to the soper sette he us anon,
And servėd us with vitaille at the beste:
Strong was the wyn and wel to drynke us leste.
A semely man OURE HOOSTĖ was with-alle
For to han been a marchal in an halle.
A largė man he was, with eyen stepe,
A fairer burgeys is ther noon in Chepe;
Boold of his speche, and wys and well y-taught
And of manhod hym lakkėdė right naught.
Eek therto he was right a myrie man,
And after soper pleyen he bigan,
And spak of myrthe amongės othere thynges,
Whan that we haddė maad our rekenynges;
And seydė thus: 'Now, lordynges, trewėly,
Ye been to me right welcome, hertėly;
For by my trouthe, if that I shal nat lye,
I ne saugh this yeer so myrie a compaignye
At onės in this herberwe as is now.
Fayn wolde I doon yow myrthė, wiste I how;
And of a myrthe I am right now bythoght,
To doon yow ese, and it shal costė noght.
'Ye goon to Canterbury—God yow speede,
The blisful martir quitė yow youre meede!
And, wel I woot, as ye goon by the weye,
Ye shapen yow to talen and to pleye;
For trewėly confort ne myrthe is noon
To ridė by the weye doumb as a stoon;
And therfore wol I maken yow disport,
As I seyde erst, and doon yow som confort.
And if you liketh alle, by oon assent,

Now for to stonden at my juggément,
And for to werken as I shal yow seye,
To-morwé, whan ye riden by the weye,
Now, by my fader soulé, that is deed,
But ye be myrie, smyteth of myn heed!
Hoold up youre hond, withouten moré speche.'
Oure conseil was nat longé for to seche;
Us thoughte it was noght worth to make it wys,
And graunted hym withouten moore avys,
And bad him seye his verdit, as hym leste.
'Lordynges,' quod he, 'now herkneth for the beste;
But taak it nought, I prey yow, in desdeyn;
This is the poynt, to speken short and pleyn,
That ech of yow, to shortė with your weye,
In this viage shal tellė talės tweye,—
To Caunterburyward, I mean it so,
And homward he shal tellen othere two,—
Of aventúres that whilom han bifalle.
And which of yow that bereth hym beste of alle,
That is to seyn, that telleth in this caas
Talės of best senténce and moost solaas,
Shal have a soper at oure aller cost,
Heere in this placė, sittynge by this post,
Whan that we come agayn fro Caunterbury.
And, for to makė yow the moré mury,
I wol myselven gladly with yow ryde,
Right at myn owene cost, and be youre gyde;
And whoso wole my juggément withseye
Shal paye al that we spenden by the weye.
And if ye vouchė-sauf that it be so

Tel me anon, withouten wordės mo,
And I wol erly shapė me therfore.'
This thyng was graunted, and oure othės swore
With ful glad herte, and preyden hym also
That he would vouchė-sauf for to do so,
And that he woldė been oure governour,
And of our talės juge and réportour,
And sette a soper at a certeyn pris,
And we wol reulėd been at his devys
In heigh and lough; and thus, by oon assent,
We been acorded to his juggėment.
And therupon the wyn was fet anon;
We dronken, and to restė wente echon,
Withouten any lenger taryynge.
Amorwė, whan that day gan for to sprynge,
Up roos oure Hoost and was oure aller cok,
And gadrede us togidre alle in a flok,
And forth we riden, a litel moore than paas,
Unto the waterynge of Seint Thomas;
And there oure Hoost bigan his hors areste
And seydė, 'Lordynges, herkneth, if yow leste:
Ye woot youre foreward and I it yow recorde.
If even-song and morwė-song accorde,
Lat se now who shal telle the firstė tale.
As ever mote I drynkė wyn or ale,
Whoso be rebel to my juggėment
Shal paye for all that by the wey is spent!
Now draweth cut, er that we ferrer twynne.
He which that hath the shorteste shal bigynne.
Sire Knyght,' quod he, 'my mayster and my lord,

Now draweth cut, for that is myn accord.
Cometh neer,' quod he, 'my lady Prioresse,
And ye sire Clerk, lat be your shamefastnesse,
Ne studieth noght; ley hond to, every man.'

Anon to drawen every wight bigan,
And, shortly for to tellen as it was,
Were it by áventúre, or sort, or cas,
The sothe is this, the cut fil to the knyght,
Of which ful blithe and glad was every wyght:
And telle he moste his tale, as was resoun,
By foreward and by composicioun,
As ye han herd; what nedeth wordės mo?
And whan this goode man saugh that it was so,
As he that wys was and obedient
To kepe his foreward by his free assent,
He seydė, 'Syn I shal bigynne the game,
What, welcome be the cut, a Goddės name!
Now lat us ryde, and herkneth what I seye.'
And with that word we ryden forth oure weye;
And he bigan with right a myrie cheere
His tale anon, and seyde in this manère.

NOTES.

1. **Aprille with his shoures:** [Professor Skeat notes that 'April is here masculine like the Latin Aprilis,' and compares 'Zephirus' in l. 5; but as *his* in Chaucer's time was the neuter, as well as the masculine, genitive, there is no evidence that Chaucer here personified either the month or the wind as a masculine.]

2. **to the roote:** not an adverbial phrase (*radicitus*) equivalent to 'hath thoroughly pierced,' but (*usque ad radicem*) 'to the root of each plant or tree.'

4. **Of which vertú:** Chaucer might have written 'in swich licour of which,' or 'in swich licour that of his vertu,' but he uses 'of which vertu' not strictly after 'in swich licour,' but loosely in relation to the sentence—'in such moisture, that from this vitalizing power the flower is begotten.' The 'virtue' of a thing is its special property, what it is efficacious for. In l. 307 'vertu' has our modern pronunciation and modern meaning; here it must be accented 'vertú.'

7. **the yonge sonne**, the astrological year began with the entrance of the sun into the sign of Aries or the Ram on March 12 (old style); in April, therefore, the sun was still 'young.'

8. **the Ram.** See Chaucer's *Astrology*, § 1.

his halfe cours: The course of the sun in Aries or the Ram began in Chaucer's time on March 12th and ended on April 11th. The first half course was run in March. From l. 5 of the talk which begins the story-telling of the second day we learn that it was then

> "the eightetethe day
> Of April that is messager to May."

If the second day of the pilgrimage was April 18th, the pilgrimage began April 17th and the company assembled April 16th. Thus, as a matter of fact, the story begins five days after the completion of the

sun's April half course in the Ram ; but in the present passage, save that the opening lines point to April showers having had time to do their work, there is nothing to show to *which* 'half course' Chaucer alludes.

12. **Thanne**, then ; answering to 'whan' in l. 1.

13. **Palmeres**, originally pilgrims to the Holy Land who brought thence a palm branch as a token of their journey. The name was afterwards given only to such pilgrims as wore a distinctive dress, went from one holy place to another, and begged on their way, instead of, like Chaucer's pilgrims, making a holiday excursion to a single shrine at their own expense.

[It is usual either to print this line as a parenthesis or to put only a comma after **strondes** so as to make **To ferne halwes** follow **to goon**. The punctuation here adopted was proposed by Professor Liddell and seems an improvement, despite the fact that it makes us want **wende** at the end of l. 14 rather than 16.]

15 *sqq*. See Introduction.

18. **That hem hath holpen**, who has cured them. It was common for sick persons to invoke the prayers of a saint on their behalf and to vow that they would make a pilgrimage to the saint's shrine should they recover. For the rhyme **seke, seeke**, see Introduction.

20. **In Southwerk at the Tabard :** see Introduction.

22. **corage**, disposition. We are not tempted to misunderstand **corages** in l. 11, but here 'courage' would give a seemingly possible, though wrong, meaning. The real pitfalls in reading Chaucer are the words we still use, but in a different sense. Cp. note to l. 43.

24. **Wel nyne-and-twenty**. The number of pilgrims mentioned in the Prologue is 31 ; but see note to l. 164 and Introduction.

30. **was to reste**. *To* here has the force of the modern *at*. The use survives in the Americanism 'to home' for 'at home.'

33. **erly for to ryse**, cp. l. 822. They must have started early indeed, for the Tales of the Knight and the Miller are supposed to have been told, and Deptford to be in sight, by 'half-way pryme,' *i.e.* by about 7.30 a.m. Cp. A 3985.

40. **whiche**, of what kind.

THE KNIGHT.

The career of Chaucer's Knight is made difficult to follow by Chaucer's mentioning the scenes of his exploits as they came to his mind. If we put his battles and sieges in their chronological order it will be seen that not only do they fall into groups, but that these groups allow for the knight taking his fair share of fighting 'in his lordes werre,' although Chaucer has only specified campaigns against the infidel. [By Edward III.'s time the Moors in Spain had been confined to the province of Granada, but here fighting was plentiful. In the north-east of Europe the Teutonic knights had completed their

conquest of Prussia and were engaged in a long struggle with the Lithuanians. In the south-east the pressure of the infidel was continually more severe, and the chief centres of resistance were the islands of Rhodes and Cyprus and the attenuated kingdom of Armenia in the angle of Asia Minor. It thus became we may almost say

THE KNIGHT.

'fashionable' for young knights to make a kind of military 'grand tour,' passing from one of the Christian outposts to another. Thus Henry, Duke of Lancaster, had begun his campaigning with the Teutonic knights in Prussia, and went thence to Rhodes and Cyprus, and finally to Granada. To quit England on such a tour it was necessary to obtain the king's leave and this would only be granted, as a rule, in time of peace. Now in January

1343 Edward III. concluded a truce with France for three years, and we must imagine that Chaucer's knight started off at once to fight the Moors, possibly accompanying the aforesaid Henry, Duke of Lancaster, at that time Earl of Derby, who in the spring of the year was sent on a mission to Alphonso XI. of Castile, and took the opportunity of doing a little fighting at the siege of Algeçiras (Algezir) in Granada. Henry, however, had to return to England, whereas our knight was at the capture of the town in 1344, and about the same time must have taken part in raids in 'Belmarye' and 'Tramyssene,' the two provinces in Africa immediately opposite Spain, from which the Moors poured over to Granada to help their kinsmen, passing back again when the tide of war went against them. In May, 1345, the truce with France was declared broken, and we may hope that our knight got back again in time to fight the next year at Crecy. For the next fourteen years there was small chance of his obtaining leave to go crusading. But in May, 1360, the treaty of Bretigny (ratified the following October) would set him free again, and he must have hastened at once to the aid of Pierre de Lusignan, King of Cyprus, who the following year made a sudden expedition against Attalia (Satalie), a town on the coast of Asia Minor, a little to the west of Cyprus, which he captured August 24th, 1361. King Peter, on the ground of this success, started at once on a round of visits to the courts of Europe whence aid might be expected, coming to England, where Chaucer must have seen a great deal of him, in November, 1363. In England he only stayed some six weeks, but he was in no hurry to return to Cyprus, and it was probably during his absence that our knight went 'with the lord of Palatye Agayn another hethen in Turkye.' At last, in 1365, King Peter was at work again, and the knight was among the numerous Englishmen who took part in the capture of Alexandria. Most of the Englishmen seem to have hastened home with their booty, but the knight must have remained with the king, since he was present at the capture of Lyeys (Lyas, Ayas) in Armenia, in October, 1367. Peter then went to Rome in quest of further aid, and on his return was assassinated on January, 16th, 1369, a tragedy which Chaucer's Monk is made to bewail (*Canterbury Tales*, B 3581-88). It was then, we may suppose, that the knight transferred his services to the Teutonic Order in Prussia, and raided in Lithuania and Russia, for the high honour of ofttimes 'beginning the bord' would hardly have been granted to anyone but a veteran. If we choose, we may imagine that these Lithuanian and Russian raids, which no Christian man of his degree made so often, filled up his time until 1386, the year in which the Lithuanians, much, it is said, to the chagrin of the Teutonic knights, turned Christian, and thus made the war against them no longer attractive on religious grounds. If this were so, our knight must certainly have been 'late y-come from his viage' when Chaucer met him, for it is about this year that the *Prologue* must have been written. Of course this reconstruction of the knight's career is quite hypothetical,

but it has the merit of a good hypothesis in that it takes account of all the facts, and the haphazard way in which Chaucer strings together his exploits really suggests that he was writing down from memory the adventures of an actual knight, which had been told him, without his quite following out their sequence. As it is, the dates of the four sieges he mentions come in the strange order, 1365 (Alisaundre, l. 51), 1344 (Algezir, l. 57), 1367 (Lyeys, l. 58), 1361 (Satalye, same line).]

43. **worthy**, notable: here and in ll. 47 and 68 used especially of bravery. So in l. 46 **fredom** means not 'liberty' but 'generosity' in its fullest sense, as the opposite of meanness.

43, 44. **That ... he**, frequently used by Chaucer for *who*.

45. **To riden out**, to go campaigning, not simply to travel.

47. **his lordes werre**, *i.e.* the war of his feudal superior, ultimately or immediately, Edward III. Some of the old commentators took 'his lord' to refer to Christ, probably from misunderstanding 'therto,' which means 'moreover,' in the next line, as if it stood for 'thither.'

51. **At Alisaundre he was whan it was wonne.** Alexandria was captured by Pierre de Lusignan, King of Cyprus, 10th October, 1365.

52. **hadde the bord bigonne**, taken the head of the table as the most honoured person in the company. [In the *Festial*, a volume of English sermons of the fifteenth century, Christ is said to have told the servants at the marriage at Cana 'that they sholde bere' the newly made wine 'to hym that began the table,' *i.e.* 'the ruler of the feast.' Appolinus in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, viii. 720, 'was mad beginne a middel bord' as a mark of honour (a reference usually attributed to Warton but in which Morell had forestalled him).]

53. **In Pruce**, *i.e.* among the Teutonic knights, who fought against the heathen of Lithuania (Lettowe) and Russia (Ruce).

54. **reysed**, gone on expeditions. [Dr. Flügel (in an article on Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme* and Chaucer's *Prolog* in *Anglia*, Bd. 24, to which we shall often have to refer) notes (p. 444) that both in Middle-English and in Old French 'reyse' or 'reze' was the technical term for these Prussian expeditions. O.N. *Reisa* (cp. German *Reise*, 'a journey').]

56. **In Gernade at the seege eek hadde he be.** Of Algezir, Algeçiras, near Gibraltar. Both places were captured from the Moors in 1344.

57. **Belmarye**, Benmarin, a Moorish kingdom in North Africa. [According to Leo Africanus "the Benmarini, a generation of Zeneti are said to have reigned for the space of 170 years," and the limits of their kingdom would vary with the fortunes of their perpetual wars. At the beginning of Book xvi. of the *Historia de rebus*

Hispanicis of Mariana we read that Albohacenus, the ninth king of Morocco, of the family of the 'Merini,' was only kept from attacking Spain by a hereditary war with Botexesinius, king of Tremesene, and at the end of Chap. 4 of the same book the defeat of Botexesinius is recorded under the year 1335, whereupon Albohacenus began to attack Spain.]

58. **Lyeys**, Layas, or Lajazzo, the modern Ayas, in Armenia, attacked by Pierre de Lusignan in October, 1367. The town was 'won' easily enough, but the citadel resisted all the efforts of Pierre's small force, and after burning the town he retired.

Satalye, Attalia, a stronghold on the coast of Asia Minor to the north-west of Cyprus. Captured by Pierre de Lusignan, August, 1361.

59. **the Grete See**, the eastern portion of the Mediterranean, of which Mandeville writes (Chapter XVI., Macmillan's *English Classics*, p. 97), 'the sea Mediterranean, the which sea dureth in length from Morocco, upon the sea of Spain, unto the Great Sea.'

60. **At many a noble armee.** 'Armee,' the reading of the Ellesmere and Hengwrt manuscripts, is a translation of the Latin *armata* or *armata navium* commonly found in the chronicles of the time. It can be used indifferently for an expedition (or the force which goes on it) whether by sea or land. [The *New Eng. Dict.* follows this instance by one from Caxton's *Faytes of Armes*, 'They that by the see wol goo, be it in armee or to som other adoo.' The Harley MS. 7334 and Cambridge Gg. read 'ariue' (aryve), explained as meaning an arrival or disembarkation of troops, but of which no other instance has been found. The two words would easily be confused by scribes, as Professor Skeat (who says that '*armee* gives no good sense') has pointed out. But even if it could be proved that 'ariue' has any existence, the epithet 'noble' seems more suited to 'armee,' and we may note that Pierre de Lusignan's expeditions against Attalia and Alexandria were exactly what was understood by an 'armata.']

62. **Tramyssene**, Tremezen, a Moorish kingdom on the north coast of Africa, next to that of Benmarin, under whose domination it passed in 1335. See note to l. 57.

63. **In lystes thries, and ay slayn his foo :** Challenges to single combat were a frequent incident in medieval warfare; thus Edward III. challenged the king of France, and the eagerness of Richard Cœur de Lion to encounter Saladin is well known.

65. **with the lord of Palatye.** 'Palatye' is said to be 'Palathia,' and this again to be one of the Christian lordships in Anatolia (Asia Minor) which survived the general Turkish supremacy, sometimes by paying tribute. It may possibly be the 'Palice' mentioned by Froissart as a district adjoining Satalie, and if so may well have been the scene of fighting in 1361 or thereabouts.

68. **though that he was worthy,** E Hng., Cam. read 'were' instead of 'was,' but the indicative seems more suitable, as there is no doubt implied.

70. **no vileynye ne sayde,** 'villainy' was any language, whether foul or of unmannerly abuse, which was unworthy of a gentleman.

73. **But for to tellen yow of his array,** etc. 'The countenance of our Knight (*i.e.* in the coloured pictures in the Ellesmere manuscript, here reproduced in black and white) expresses great sedateness and dignity. His folded headcovering is of a dark colour. His gipon is also dark, but his under-coat red, which is discernible through the sleeves at his wrists; his legs in armour, with gilt spurs; his dagger in a red sheath, by his side; and little points or aiglets of red tipped with gold near his neck and shoulder' (Todd's *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer*, 1810, p. 229).

74. **His hors was goode,** E has 'weren' for 'was,' a quite possible reading, since 'hors' is plural as well as singular, and the plural might refer to those of the Squire and Yeoman who rode with the Knight. But as these have not yet been mentioned the singular seems slightly preferable.

76. Scan: Al | bismot | er'd with | his hab | ergeon. The last syllable of habergeon is pronounced 'joun,' not 'géon.'

78. **And wente for to doon his pilgrymage.** Just as sick people would vow to go on pilgrimage should they recover, so travellers and soldiers would make similar vows as a thank-offering for their safe return. Chaucer's language here takes it for granted that a pilgrimage would be the natural end of the knight's campaigning. It may be noted that 'viage' in the previous line may be influenced by the use of the Latin *viagium* for a military expedition.

THE SQUIRE.

An interesting account of the training and duties of squires will be found in Saunders' *Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (Dent, 1889). After serving from his seventh to his fourteenth year as a page in some noble family a youth received his sword and girdle from the priest's hands at the altar. He might then have assigned to him various duties in the household, or be made personal attendant on his lady, until he was strong enough to follow his lord to the wars. As 'squire of the body' to a knight, he would have to hold his stirrup for him when he mounted, to carry his helmet for him, to lead his war-horse when he preferred to ride on a palfrey, to arm him for battle, and to attend him in the fight. In his lord's house a squire would not only act as carver, but help to entertain his guests, and wait personally on those of high rank. For the military experience which Chaucer's Squire may have had, see note to l. 86.

80. **a lusty bacheler.** 'Bachelor' in Chaucer's time meant not merely an unmarried man, but distinctively a probationer for the

honour of knighthood, or young knight. So Cambuscan in the *Squire's Tale* is said to have been:

"Yong, fressh and strong, in armes desirous
As any bacheler of al his hous."

In like manner a Bachelor at the university was a probationer for the full degree of Master.

83. **of evene lengthe.** 'Even' here is explained in *New. Eng. Dict.* as 'a just mean between extremes, of proper magnitude or degree.'

THE SQUIRE.

86. **In Flaundres, in Artoys and Pycardie.** There was probably always in Chaucer's time some fighting to be had on the borderland of France and Flanders, where the Free Companies were troublesome even in times of peace. But it looks as if Chaucer's Squire had followed in his father's footsteps and taken part in what was proclaimed as a 'Crusade,' the iniquitous expedition captained in 1382 by Henry Le Despencer, the fighting Bishop of Norwich, who, with the sanction of Pope Urban, led an English army into the districts here named, to plunder anyone who they could pretend was an

adherent of the anti-Pope Clement, the French candidate. The expedition was at first successful, and much booty was sent home to England. Eventually it failed miserably.

88. **in his lady grace.** For 'lady' as a genitive see Introduction, p. lvi., also note to l. 695.

89. **Embrouded was he**, etc. In the picture of the Squire in the Ellesmere manuscript, he wears a short coat (l. 93), whose long sleeves are blown behind him by the wind. The coat itself is green lined with red, and embroidered with small white patches. He wears white breeches, with tufts of ermine on the thighs, and his pointed shoes droop far below the stirrups. His curly hair is crowned by a high blue cap embroidered in the front. To prove his excellence as a rider (l. 94) his horse is rearing most alarmingly.

100. **And carf biforn his fader.** 'Froissart particularly mentions that the young Count de Foix, like Chaucer's Squire, carved before his father' (Saunders, *op. cit.*). So Barbour (*Bruce* ii. 91 *sq.*) writes of 'James off Douglas that ay quhar All wayis before the byshop schar,' for which cause the Bishop 'gert him were his knyvys.'

The Yeoman.

Chaucer describes his Yeoman as carrying not only a bow, sword and buckler, which he would do on military service, but also a hunting horn, and guesses that he was a Forester. He had, therefore, plainly not been abroad with the Knight, and we may imagine, in trying to picture how Chaucer thought of things as happening, that the Squire and Yeoman had ridden from some country place to meet the Knight and attend him on the pilgrimage which he was making before returning home. His handsome dagger and silver brooch show that the Yeoman was a man of substance, and while serving the Knight as a forester he would probably hold a farm as well. Modern commentators are agreed that the *Tale of Gamelyn* (the same story of the greenwood as that which Shakespeare used in his *As You Like It*) found in some manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*, was intended by Chaucer, when re-written, to be assigned to the Yeoman. As it is, he tells no story, so there is no picture of him in the Ellesmere manuscript.

101. **A Yeman hadde he.** 'He' refers back to the Knight.

104. **pocock arwes:** cp. Lydgate's *Hors Goose and Sheep*, l. 21 *sqq.*:

> "Through al the lond of Brute's Albion
> For fetherid arwes (as I reherse can)
> Goos is the best (as in comparisoun)
> Except fetheris of Pekok or of Swan."

But some writers on archery considered peacocks' feathers as good only for show, and much inferior to those of the goose.

107. **His arwes drouped noght with fetheres lowe**: 'low' feathers seem to be those in which the pinnules lie so close to the rib that when fastened to the arrow they do not jut out enough to support it in the air, so that the arrow 'droops' in its flight and falls short.

110. **usage**, practice.

111. **a gay bracer**: a 'bracer' (O. Fr. *brasseure*, ultimately from Lat. *brachium*) was a guard used by archers to save the arm from being struck by the string when the arrow was loosed.

114. **Harneised wel**, *i.e.* the metal on the leather sheath was handsome and well polished.

115. **A Christophere**: a silver brooch in the form of a figure of S. Christopher, who, 'as the patron of field sports, and as presiding also over the state of the weather, was of course pre-eminently the forester's guardian saint' (Saunders). But images of S. Christopher were supposed to bring good luck to anybody.

116. **the bawdryk was of grene**: a baldric (deriv. uncertain) is defined in *New English Dictionary* as 'a belt or girdle usually of leather and richly ornamented, worn pendent from one shoulder across the breast and under the opposite arm, and used to support the wearer's sword, bugle, etc.' At an earlier date than this knights had worn their baldrics horizontally across the hips. As the yeoman's baldric was green and had only to support a horn, it may very well have been made of cord.

THE PRIORESS.

'This delicate, precise, and sentimental lady is drawn in the manuscript with a wimpel neatly pinched, and a 'fetyse' or handsome cloak, which is black over a tunic of white in conformity to the dress of the Benedictine nuns. On her left hand are the beads, and her right hand is uplifted, as if she was desirous of calling the particular attention of her hearers to what she was reciting' (Todd, *op. cit.* p. 233). Except in orders confined to women, it was more common for the head of a nunnery to be a Prioress than an Abbess, since, to help the nuns in managing their affairs, most nunneries were in some kind of dependence on an abbey of monks of the same order. The Prioress was, thus, the head of her house, and as such would have to entertain its guests. For this reason and because girls of well-to-do families often received part of their education in nunneries (see note on l. 124), to be able to 'counterfeit the cheer of court' and have stately manners were thought essential qualifications in the head of a nunnery. Many prioresses were ladies of rank, their rank helping to gain them their position. This was apparently not the case with Chaucer's, or we should have been told of it, so she would be all the more careful of her dignity. Just as Chaucer hints that his lawyer pretended to be busier than he was, so he suggests that there was some little affectation both in his Prioress's religion and in her fine manners. But his satire is very gentle.

120. Hire gretteste ooth was but by seint Loy. "There has been much discussion," writes Professor Hales (*Folia Litteraria*, p. 102), "why the good lady should swear by St. Loy of all the saints in the calendar, inasmuch as St. Loy, or Eloy—for Loy appears to be a clipped and more familiar form of the name Eloy, which is the French form of Eligius—is commonly known as the patron of 'goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and all workers in metals, also

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of farriers and horses.' It is natural then that the carter in the *Friar's Tale* should invoke God and St. Loy when his horse is struggling to pull his cart out of the slough, but what is his saintship to the Prioress or she to his saintship?" The answer which Professor Hales suggests is that the Prioress swore by St. Loy because, according to a story told of him by his friend St. Ouen, he had refused to take an oath even when pressed to do so by King Dagobert. To swear by a saint who objected to swearing would thus be swearing of a very apologetic kind, and Professor Hales even thinks that Chaucer meant that the Prioress never swore at all.

Seint: for the pronunciation of this word see Introduction, p. lvii., note.

121. And she was cleped madame Eglentyne. The title 'madame' was given to all Nuns. [According to the Lincoln Order for consecrating Nuns (Lansd. MS. 388, written about 1480) the Bishop after the Benediction offered a few words of advice to those whom he had consecrated, beginning: 'Dowghters and virgyns, now

that ye are maryed and despowsed to hym that is above Kyng and Kaysor, unto Iesu Cryste, mete it is and so must you from hensforth yn tokyn of the same be callyd Madame and Ladye' (Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, iii. 357 n.).]

122. **Ful weel she soong the service dyvyne**; *i.e.* the canonical hours (Lauds, Matins, Prime, Tierce, Nones, Vespers, Compline) of the Breviary. On high festivals a priest would usually be present at Lauds and Vespers; at other times the nuns might conduct the whole service themselves.

123. **Entuned in hir nose ful semely.** Church singing, except that of trained musicians, is usually nasal, and Chaucer is here simply stating a fact, not in itself ludicrous. He gives it, however, a ludicrous turn by mischievously adding 'ful semely.'

124. **And Frenssh she spak ful faire and fetisly, After the scole of Stratford-atte-Bowe, For Frenssh of Parys was to hire unknowe.** It seems reasonable to take these lines in connexion with Chaucer's subsequent remark that the Prioress 'peyned hire to countrefete cheere of court and been estatlich of manere.' Although the battle of the two languages had resulted in the final defeat of Anglo-Norman French by English, the fact that Chaucer's contemporary, John Gower, wrote one of his three long poems, besides numerous 'balades,' in French, suffices to prove that it was still in use, while all its associations would be aristocratic. There was a Benedictine nunnery, some three centuries old in Chaucer's time at Bromley near Stratford-le-Bow (now called 'Bow' simply), and we are intended to imagine that the Prioress had been educated at the convent school there, and trained in the pronunciation of the Anglo-Norman French, which in her young days was certainly spoken at Court. If Chaucer was laughing at the Prioress at all, he was thus certainly not laughing uproariously, as if he had suggested that she was speaking 'Frenssh of the further end of Norfolk,' which was no French at all. But he was seldom quite matter-of-fact in these allusions, and probably intended a hint that the Prioress was rather behind the times, just as when he tells us that Absalom in the *Miller's Tale* could trip and dance 'after the scole of Oxenfordé tho,' we may guess that our court-poet had it in his mind that the dancing of the Oxford clerks was probably more vigorous than graceful.

127. **At mete wel y-taught was she with-alle**, etc. ["The following circumstances of behaviour at table are copied from *Roman de la Rose*, 14178-99:

'Et bien se garde qu'elle ne moeille
Ses doys au brouet jusqu' es jointes, etc.,
Si sagement port sa bouchée
Que sur son pied goutte n'en chée
De souppe, ne de saulse noire.—
Et doit si bien sa bouche terdre
Tant qu'el n'y laisse gresse aherdre
Au moins en la levre desseure.'" (Tyrwhitt's note.)]

142. conscience: Chaucer seems to use this word much as people in the eighteenth century, and Miss Austen, used 'sensibility,' for refinement of feeling in matters of affection, tenderness of heart (cp. l. 150) erected into a principle.

159. A peire of bedes: the name bead (bede) was transferred from 'prayer' to the small globular bodies used for 'telling beads,' *i.e.* counting prayers said. A series of these small balls, in Chaucer's time called a pair of beads, is now known as a Rosary. The beads were of two sizes, the larger being for the Lord's Prayer (Pater noster), the smaller, of which there were ten times as many, for the 'Hail Mary' (Ave). The large and more ornamental beads were called Gauds or Gawds, probably, according to *New Eng. Dict.*, from the Latin gaudia (joys), from the fact that the first five of the fifteen mysteries to be meditated on in reciting the fifteen sets of prayers were 'Joyful Mysteries.'

gauded al with grene: having the Gaudies green. [Tyrwhitt compares Gower, *Conf. Amant.* f. 190 [Bk. viii. ll. 2904-7].

> "A paire of bedes blacke as sable
> She toke and hynge my necke about,
> Upon the gaudees all without
> Was wryte of gold, *pur reposer*."

Prol. Hales has drawn my attention to several bequests of Beads in the vol. of *Bury Wills and Inventories* and that of *Wills from Doctors' Commons* published by the Camden Society. See, *e.g.*, p. 36 of the Bury vol., A.D. 1463: I yeve & beqwethe to the seid Dame Margarete a payre of bedys with pater ñris of gold & on eche syde of the patrñris a bede of coral & the Aue Maryes of colour after marbil with a knoppe, othir wyse called a tufft, of blak silke.' *Ib.*: 'To Richard Fest of Bury my beedys of jeet with ii patrñris of crystal. *Ib.* p. 82: 'A payre bedys of jeete gaudied wt corall, paternosters sylur & gilt.

Doctors' Commons Wills, p. 6: 'A litell pair of bedes of white amber gaudied with vij stones of gold.' and *ib.* 'a pair of bedes of lxj rounde stones of golde gaudied with sex square stones of golde enameled,' etc.]

162. Amor vincit omnia: 'Love conquereth all things.' [To this device and poesy there is some resemblance, as Mr. Ritson has also observed, in *The Squyr of Lowe Degree*, ver. 211, etc.

> "In the myddes of your sheld ther shal be set
> A ladyes head with many a fret;
> Above the head wrytten shall be
> A reason for the love of me;
> Both O and R shall be therein
> With A and M it shall begynne."

Todd, *op. cit.* p. 235.]

THE PRIORESS'S CHAPLAIN, OR SECOND NUN.

'This Nun relates the history which is called in the *Canterbury Tales* the *Second Nonnes Tale*. There is accordingly in the manuscript a very neat miniature of her in a dark habit with open sleeves; her wimple is nicely plaited; her hood or cowl is up, not hiding, however, her face; and her waist is girded' (Todd, *op. cit.*

THE PRIORESS'S CHAPLAIN, OR SECOND NUN.

p. 235). As regards the statement that she was the Prioress's Chaplain the *New Eng. Dict.* explains 'chaplain' here as 'a nun who recites the inferior services in the chapel of a nunnery,' but the explanation seems of doubtful correctness and not to the point. Chaucer does not say that the nun was the chaplain of the Priory, but that she was the chaplain of the Prioress, and the duty of the chaplain of a Benedictine Prioress or Abbess is now, and pre-

sumably was then, to wait upon her Superior both in and out of chapel, just as the duty of a Bishop's chaplain is to attend on the Bishop. Such attendance would, of course, be more especially needed when the Prioress was travelling. Thus Bishop Alcock in his *Abbaye of the Holy Ghost* says that Charity was made an Abbess and to her Mercy and Truth were to be as Chaplains going about with her wherever she went. In the *Customary of St. Augustine's Canterbury* (edited by Sir E. M. Thompson for the Henry Bradshaw Society, 1902) there is an amusing section on the duties of an Abbot's two chaplains. Among these duties were to foster goodwill between the abbot and the monks, to accompany the abbot out of doors, to save him from small matters of business with which they could deal, to see to his housekeeping and especially to the supply of wine, to keep his jewels and see that he had always at least ten pounds in ready money, to distribute his alms and look after his guests. The same sort of duties would have to be performed in a nunnery, and obviously formed the business of the Prioress's Chaplain. In her *Woman under Monasticism* Miss Lina Eckenstein notes (pp. 376 *sq.*) that 'In consequence of an Episcopal visitation (1478) of the Benedictine convent of Easebourne injunctions were sent to the prioress, one of which directs that 'every week, beginning with the eldest she shall select for herself in due course *and in turns* one of her nuns as chaplain (capellanissam) for divine service and to wait upon herself' (Blaauw, *Episcopal Visitations of the Benedictine Nunnery at Easebourne*, Sussex Arch. Collections, vol. i. p. 15). 'In Redingfeld at the visitation of 1514, the complaint is made against the prioress that she does not change her chaplain' (Jessopp, *Visitations of the Diocese of Norwich*, 1492-1532, p. 138). The object of the weekly rota of chaplains was, no doubt, to prevent favouritism and jealousy.

The Nun's Priest.

In the talks on the road, after the Monk's flow of tragedies had been stopped,

> "Thanne spak oure Hoost with rude speche and bold,
> And seyde unto the Nonnes Preest anon
> 'Come ner, thou preest, com hyder thou "Sir John."
> Telle us swich thyng as may oure hertes glade.
> Be blithe, though thou ryde upon a jade—
> What thogh thyn hors be bothe foule and lene?
> If he wol serve thee, rekke nat a bene,'" etc.
>
> (B 2998-4004.)

This mention of 'the Nonnes Priest' and the fact that the whole number of pilgrims is raised from twenty-nine (cp. l. 24) to thirty-one, if there were three as here stated, suggests that Chaucer wrote

THE NUN'S PRIEST.

this couplet in forgetfulness of his general scheme and omitted to reconcile them. It is the Priest who tells the story of the 'Fox and the Cock,' an excellent example of Chaucer's final style.

THE MONK.

The best proof that Chaucer's sketch of the hunting monk is not exaggerated is the fact that all the chief points he mentions are to be found in the articles of the 'Visitation of Selborne Abbey' held by William of Wykeham, as Bishop of Winchester, in 1387, *i.e.* within a year, or two at the most, of the date when Chaucer must have written his *Prologue.* [The articles are printed in full in an Appendix to Gilbert White's *Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne*, and summarised in his text, from which we may be content to quote. Thus for the whole character of the Monk, cp. White's "In Item eleventh the good bishop is very wroth with some of the Canons, whom he finds to be professed hunters and sportsmen, keeping hounds, and publicly attending hunting-matches. These pursuits, he says, occasion much dissipation, danger to the soul and body, and frequent expense; he, therefore, wishing to extirpate this vice wholly

from the convent, 'radicibus extirpare,' does absolutely enjoin the canons never intentionally to be present at any public noisy tumultuous huntings; or to keep any hounds, by themselves or by others, openly or by stealth, within the convent or without." The penalty for each offence was to be two days fasting on bread and beer. The sixth article "mentions that several of the canons are found to be very ignorant and illiterate, and enjoins the prior to see that they be better instructed by a proper master," and the thirty-

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fourth bids them to sit in the cloister and read the Scriptures (cp. ll. 104 *sq.*). In the eighty-sixth article the canons are accused of refusing to accept of their statutable clothing year by year and of demanding a certain specified sum of money, presumably in order to buy with it what clothes they pleased. In the twenty-ninth the result of this system is seen in the prohibition of "foppish ornaments and the affectation of appearing like beaux with garments edged with costly furs (cp. l. 193 *sq.*), with fringed gloves, and silken girdles trimmed with gold (cp. our Monk's gold pin) and silver." In the twenty-sixth the canons are severely reprimanded for appearing publicly in fancy boots, "contra consuetudinem antiquam ordinis supradicti in

perniciosum exemplum et scandalum plurinorum," so that the care which the monk bestowed on his 'bootes souple' (l. 203) was probably misapplied. Lastly we find the case of outriders, such as he was (l. 166), dealt with in the ninth article, which complains that "some of the canons are given to wander out of the precincts of the convent without leave; and that others ride to their manors and farms under pretence of inspecting the concerns of the society, when they please, and stay as long as they please. But they are enjoined never to stir either about their own private concerns or the business of the convent without leave from the prior: and no canon is to go alone, but to have a grave brother to accompany him."]

165. **for the maistrie**, above all others. [Flügel (452) compares Hoccleve, *Govern.* 23:

"When I was yonge I was ful recheles
Proude, nice and ryotous for the maystrye."]

166. **An outridere.** See above, and cp. *Shipman's Tale* (B 1252-56):

'This noble monk, of which I yow devyse
Hath of his abbot, as hym list, licence,—
By cause he was a man of heigh prudence,
And eek an officer,—*out* for to *ryde*
To seek his graunges and hise bernes wyde."

'Outrider' appears to have been an official designation title for the monk who had to look after the convent estates.

that lovede venerie. If the satirists and reformers of Chaucer's time can be trusted, the love of hunting and horses had infected not merely the monks, but the clergy of every rank. [Wyclif complained that "curatis hav fatte hors with gaye sadlis and bridelis" and that "the more that a curat hath of pore mennys goodis the more comunly he wastith in costy fedynge of houndis and haukis," while of prelates he says that they 'ride with foure score hors, with harneis of siluer & gold.' (For references and other quotations see Flügel, p. 455 *sq.*)]

170. **Gynglen**, *i.e.* from the bells on the harness, which a hunting monk would think made a much pleasanter noise than the 'chapel belle' of the next line.

172. **Ther as this lord was kepere of the celle**: a 'cell' was a minor religious house dependent on a greater one, and was sometimes used as a kind of convalescent home. [Thus the great Abbey of S. Albans had a cell at Redburn, four and a half miles off, of which Dr. Horstmann writes (Introduction to *Nova Legenda Anglie*, p. xi.), 'it served as a place of recess for sick monks to receive the benefit of ease and fresh air. Abbot Richard Wallingford (1326-55) ordained that three monks should always be here on duty for one month and then be relieved by three others.' But in many cells

there was no such time-limit and life at a cell was so much easier than at a well-governed great monastery that stories are told of monks who had contrived to stay on at a cell for several years asking, when they came back, whether the monastery were not under an altogether different 'rule.']

173. **The reule of seint Maure or of seint Beneit**: St. Benedict founded the first monastery of his order at Monte Cassino (halfway between Naples and Rome) about A.D. 530. S. Maurus was one of his earliest disciples and introduced the Benedictine rule into France.

175. **This ilke Monk leet olde thynges pace.** Instead of telling us that the Monk left these particular old things to go their own way, Chaucer tells us that it was the Monk's practice to disregard old things, and we see that these went with the rest. [Dr. Flügel quotes a close parallel from Gower's *Vox Clamantis*, IV. c. 7:

"Nil modo Bernardi sancti vel regula Mauri
Confert, commonachis displicet immo novis."]

176. **And heeld after the newe world the space**: Professor Skeat takes 'space' as meaning 'course' (Lat. *spatium*) and translates 'held his course in conformity with the new order of things.' It seems at least possible that Chaucer uses 'the space' adverbially for 'in the meantime' (cp. 'and born hym weel, as of so litel space,' l. 87) and 'heeld' absolutely, in the sense of 'kept on his way.'

177. **He yaf nat of that text a pulled hen**: the text 'that seith that hunters beth nat hooly men,' for which the monk did not care the value of a hen that had lost its feathers, has not been found. [In the Decretals of Gregory IX. a condemnation of hunting is followed by the text *2 Tim.* ii. 4: 'No soldier on service entangleth himself in affairs of this life,' etc.; but there must be something much nearer than this.]

179. **whan he is cloysterles**: 'Cloysterles' is the reading of the Harleian MS., as against the 'recchelees' of the six texts. Professor Liddell says that "'recchelees' seems to have a peculiar meaning here, 'careless of regulations' (it has been proposed to read 'reuleles'), so that Chaucer has to explain what he means in vv. 181, 182," and that in view of this explanation no emendation is needed. Dr. Skeat, on the other hand, points out that "a careless monk is not necessarily a monk out of his cloister," and that the Harleian reading "solves the difficulty." [If there were not good reason to believe that the Harleian MS. records some of Chaucer's second thoughts, we should have to stand by 'recchelees,' as no scribe would have been likely to have altered 'cloysterles' if he had found it in his text. But it seems quite possible that Chaucer himself substituted for 'recchelees' the coined word 'cloysterles,' which he had not at first thought of, and which comes much nearer to a translation of the proverb, leaving l. 181, because

'cloisterless' is rather too strong, since it might mean a monk who has got no cloister, not merely one who strays from it.]

180. **Is likned til a fissh that is waterles.** 'This passage is attributed by Gratian to a Pope Eugenius: *Sicut piscis sine aqua caret vita, ita sine monasterio monachus*' (Tyrwhitt). It has been traced back to as early a date as the fourth century. Both Wyclif and Gower quote it. [It is noteworthy, perhaps, that while in the *Vox Clamantis* Gower writes: 'Non foris a claustris monachus, neque aqua fore piscis,' which makes wholly for 'cloysterles' in l. 179; in his *Mirour* he writes (20846 *sqq.*):

"tout ensi comme le piscoun
En l'eaue vit tant soulement,
Tout autrecy Religioun
Prendra sa conversacioun
Solonc la reule du covent
El cloistre tout obedient:
Car s'il vit seculierement
Lors change la condicioun
Del ordre qu'il primerement
Resceut, dont pert au finement
Loer [the reward] de sa professioun,"

where the important 'in the cloister' of the sixth line is so wrapped round with the general idea of obedience to rule as to offer some parallel to 'recchelees.']

185. **Upon a book in cloystre alwey to poure.** Few monasteries in Chaucer's days possessed specially built libraries in which the monks could read. Such libraries were added both to monasteries and colleges in the fifteenth century. In Chaucer's time the monks still read their books in the cloister, where each of them had his 'carrill,' or reading-desk, in a separate arch. See *The Care of Books*, by J. W. Clark, Chap. II.

186. **Or swynken with his handes and labóure, As Austyn bit?** The peculiar idea of activity attached to the Augustinian rule is altogether a matter of tradition. [The famous Rule itself is but part of a letter written by S. Augustine, when Bishop of Hippo, to a convent of nuns in his diocese, in which he gives them advice as to the manner and spirit in which they should conduct themselves 'as persons settled in a monastery.' This very vagueness, however, as contrasted with the detailed code of S. Benedict, caused the so-called Rule of S. Augustine to be adopted by numerous new religious orders, and traditions sprang up around it of which the stress laid on the union of the religious life and active work was the chief. See 'The Rule of S. Augustine,' by E. Speakman in *Historical Essays*, by Members of the Owens College, Manchester, 1902.)]

190. **Grehoundes he hadde.** Cp. note on 'The Monk,' the Bishop's 11th Article. The Ellesmere picture shows two of these greyhounds, but unluckily there is not room for them on this page.

194. **With grys.** Cp. note on 'The Monk,' the Bishop's 29th Article.

196. **of gold...a curious pyn.** Of course a monk had no right to wear gold ornaments, and the 'love-knot' in the pin was an additional crime.

206. **A fat swan**—the great medieval delicacy.

THE FRIAR.

As noted in l. 210 there were at this time four orders of Friars in England:

(i.) *Franciscans.* Founded by S. Francis of Assisi in 1208, these came to England in 1224, and thirty-two years afterwards already possessed forty-nine convents in this country.

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(ii.) *Dominicans.* Founded by S. Dominic at Toulouse in 1215, as a preaching order to combat the heresy then prevalent in the south of France. They came to England in 1220.

(iii.) *Carmelites.* Originally a monastic order on Mount Carmel. When driven out by the Mahommedans they spread over Europe, and in 1247, when they had an Englishman as their General, were changed into a mendicant order.

(iv.) *Augustinians.* An order of uncertain origin on which the 'Rule of S. Augustine' (see note to l. 187) was imposed by Innocent IV. (d. 1254).

The movement started by S. Francis of Assisi remained throughout the thirteenth century a great religious force, attracting to itself all that was most earnest and unselfish in the religious life of the time. The Friars were not, like the monks, to

flee from the world, but to mix with it and convert it. They were essentially missionaries, both for home and abroad, and their vow of poverty was intended to bind them collectively as well as individually. By Chaucer's time their churches and houses were as splendid as those of the monks, and were supported by the shameless begging of which the poet gives a picture in the *Summoner's Tale*. [Here a friar first excites the people in church :

"to yeve for Goddes sake
Wherwith men mighte holy houses make,"

and then

"Whan folk in chirche had yeve him what hem lest
He went his wey, no lenger wolde he reste.
With scrippe and tipped staf, y-tukked hye,
In every hous he gan to poure and prye,
And beggeth mele, and chese, or elles corn.
His felawe hadde a stafe tipped with horn,
A peyre of tables al of yvory,
And a poyntel polysshed fetisly,
And wrote the names alwey as he stood
Of alle folk that yaf hym any good,
Ascaunces[1] that he wolde for hem prey.
'Yif us a busshel whete, malt or reye,
A Goddes kechyl,[2] or a trype of chese,
Or elles what yow lyst, we may nat cheese ;
A Goddes halfpeny, or a masse peny,
Or yif us of youre brawn, if ye have eny ;
A dagoun[3] of youre blanket, leeve dame,
Oure suster deere,—lo heere I write youre name,
Bacoun, or beef, or swich thyng as ye fynde.'
A sturdy harlot wente ay hem bihynde,
That was hir hostes-man, and bar a sak,
And what men yaf hem leyde it on his bak.
And whan that he was out at dore anon,
He planed awey the names everichon
That he biforn had writen in his tables."]

The picture of the Friars which Chaucer gives in these lines and in the *Prologue* is in accordance with the allusions in many other writers of the time. On the other hand many individual friars may have still retained some of the merits as well as the defects of a low-class clergy, and Wyclif who, at the end of his life, assailed them bitterly, had at one time contrasted them favourably with the tithe-taking clergy. But about the time Chaucer wrote they must have been specially unpopular, as in 1385, in consequence of riots in which their houses were pulled down, a proclamation had to be issued for their protection.

208. **wantowne**, gay.

[1] *Ascaunces*, as though. [2] *Kechyl*, cake. [3] *Dagoun*, fragment.

209. A lymytour. This word is explained by the couplet added in the Hengwrt MS. after l. 252 (see note), a limiter being a friar who paid his convent a certain sum (a ferme) for the exclusive right of begging on its behalf within the limits of a fixed district, presumably spending the surplus, if any, as he pleased. The friar whose proceedings are chronicled in the *Summoner's Tale* was a limiter, and his erasing from his tables the names of donors as soon as they were out of sight shows how the system worked.

a ful solémpne man. 'Solemn' is one of the words still in use, the exact meaning of which in Chaucer's verse is rather difficult to define. Etymologically it means 'annual,' its usual sense arising from a connection of ideas with religious festivals which come round once a year. Dr. Skeat in his *Chaucer Glossary* assigns it in different passages the meanings: festive, grand, cheerful (this passage), important, illustrious, superb, public! The underlying idea seems to be something official or fitted for a great occasion. Thus 'solemn penance' is the formal punishment of a sinner, a 'solemn feast' (E. 1125, F. 61) is one held on a state occasion, 'a great solempne route' is Chaucer's description (B 387) of the escort accompanying a royal bride; a solemn fraternity (*Prologue*, 364) is one that held an important position in its town. Instead of 'cheerful,' therefore, it seems better here to take solemn as explained by l. 261 ('he was lyk a maister, or a pope') and explain it by stately,—a man of a good presence.

210. the ordres foure. See above, note on 'the Friar.'

211. daliaunce. This word in Chaucer's time was already getting the bad meaning of idle talk, trifling, flirtation. But even a hundred years later it could still be used of serious discussion [*New Eng. Dict.* quotes from *Dives & Pauper*, 'Redynge and dalyaunce of holy writ and of holy mennes lyues'], and it should perhaps be taken here as an unequivocal tribute to the Friar's conversational powers. No one could talk better or use finer language.

212. He hadde maad ful many a mariage: Dr. Flügel quotes passages illustrating how the Friars encroached on the parson's monopoly of celebrating the marriages of his parishioners. But even if the Friar, to win popularity, charged no fees, this hardly explains 'at his owene cost' in the next line. The allusion appears to be to the Friars finding husbands, and perhaps dowries, for girls whom they had seduced.

218. Hadde power of confessioun ... moore than a curát. In the Roman Church certain sins are 'reserved' for the consideration of the bishop before absolution can be given. The Franciscans and other friars had privileges that enabled them to confess the parishioners of a parson without his leave, and to give absolution for weightier sins than he could deal with. A license from his convent did not give a Friar any special privileges as a confessor, but certified that he was a discreet man, of mature age, who could be trusted

to go abroad. [As a parallel to the whole passage Dr. Flügel appositely quotes Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme*, ll. 21469 *sqq.*:

"Ove [avec] les Curetz du sainte eglise
Le frere clayme en sa franchise
Confession et sepulture
Des riches gentz; mais celle enprise
Deinz [dans] charité n'est pas comprise;
Car de les poverez il ne cure [cp. *Prol.* 247],
Soit vif ou mort, car celle cure
Dont gaign ne vient, jammes procure."]

224. **pitaunce.** See note in Glossary.

227. **he dorste,** *i.e.* the Friar.

233. **His typet was ay farsed full of knyves,** etc. Jusserand (*English Wayfaring Life*) quotes from a poem against the friars in Wright's *Political Songs*:

"Thai wandren here and there,
And dele with dyvers marcerye,
Right as thai pedlers were
Thai dele with purses, pynnes, and knyves,
With gyrdles, gloves, for wenches and wyves."

According to the best authorities a tippet should be a broad black scarf, capable of being wound round the head and neck as a hood. Apparently the Friar's tippet had pockets in the ends in which he stuffed his knives, etc.

242. **Bet than a lazar,** etc. Dr. Flügel compares *Romaunt of the Rose*, ll. 6491 *sqq.*:

"I loue bettir the acqueyntaunce
Ten tyme of the Kyng of Fraunce
Than of a pore man ...
For whanne I see beggers quakyng
Naked on myxnes [dunghills] al stynkyng
For hunger crie and eke for care
I entremete [meddle] not of her fare.
They ben so pore and full of pyne
They myght not oonys geve me a dyne."

244. **as by his facultee:** considering his profession.

246. **honeste,** honourable, respectable.

251. **so vertuous,** of such wonderful powers.

252. The Hengwrt MS. here gives the couplet:

"And yaf a certeyn ferme for the graunt
Noon of his bretheren cam ther in his haunt."

Cp. note to l. 209.

253. **For thogh a wydwe hadde noght a sho,** etc. Flügel compares *Jack Upland's Reply*:

"Thi tong likkith the chesefat
And the garner also,
And the pore wedowes porse
Though she have bot a penny."

[Also Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme*, 21373 *sqq.*, where the Friar 'la maile prent s'il n'ait denier,' takes a halfpenny if he cannot get a penny.]

254. **So plesaunt was his** *In Principio*: so pleasant was his reading of the opening verses of the Gospel of S. John, to which a magical value was attached. [As early as 1022 a council held at Seligstadt, near Mainz, forbade lay-folk in general and matrons especially from hearing the Gospel *In Principio erat Verbum* (John i. 1-14) daily, because of the superstitions connected with it. Gerald of Wales (d. 1222) mentions how the clergy of his day used to say additional Gospels at Low Mass for the sake of obtaining offerings from people who attached special value to some one of them, and he mentions the beginning of S. John as considered especially powerful for driving away ghosts. Unfortunately in the fourteenth century an Indulgence of a year and forty days (see note on the Pardoner) was granted to those who heard or recited this Gospel and at the same time kissed something. This is alluded to in a northern poem of the latter part of the fourteenth century called *The Manner ond Mode of the Masse*:

"Yit prei ur ladi as I gow telle
That ye foryete not the godspelle
For thing [cp. l. 276] that may bi-falle.
Tak a good entent ther-to
Hit is the *In Principio*
In Latin that men calle.
A yere and forti dayes atte lest
For *Verbum caro factum est*
To pardoun haue ye schalle.
Mon or wommon schal haue this
That kneles doun the eorthe to kis;
For-thi think on hit, alle."

In the fifteenth century the priest was directed to say this Gospel after Mass, but it is clear that in the meantime the friars had begun the practice of saying it, not only in church, but in private houses. In 1401 the author of *Jack Upland* tells the friars: "Ye win more by yere with *In Principio* than with all the rules that ever your patrones made," and the custom continued, since Tindale in his *Answer to Sir Thomas More* (1530) alludes to "the limitours saying of *In Principio* from house to house." (See 'A Paper on the Usage of a Second Gospel at Mass,' by E. G. C. Atchley, *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, Vol. IV., 1900.)]

256. **His purchas was wel bettre than his rente.** The proceeds of his begging were much greater than the rent or 'ferme' (see note to l. 252) he paid to his convent, *i.e.* he made a considerable profit for himself.

258. **In love-dayes ther koude he muchel helpe.** Lovedays were days appointed for the settlement of disputes by arbitration. [Dr. Skeat gives a reference to a good illustrative quotation, *Paston Letters*, 341: Friar Brackley to John Paston, 'Lord Skalys hathe made a lofeday with the prior and Heydon in alle materys except the matere of Snarying &c. And the seyd pryor spake maysterly to the jurrorys and told hem and [*i.e.* if] they had dred God and hurt of here sowlys, they wold haf some instruccyon of the one party as wele as of the other. But they were so bold they were not aferd,' etc. Dr. Flügel quotes from Wyclif censure of priests for meddling at lovedays and maintaining the wrong cause there, and of 'grete men' who 'meyntenen debatis at louedaies and who so may be strengere wil haue his wille don.'] The Friar helped at lovedays either by bringing influence to bear on jurors, or by himself acting as umpire.

261. **But he was lyk a maister, or a pope**: the degree of Master or Doctor not only required a long course of study, but also a lavish expense in feasting and presents. This made those who could afford to take it rank as very dignified persons indeed.

263. **That rounded as a belle out of the presse**: Dr. Skeat explains 'presse' as 'the mould in which a bell is cast.' But a press and a mould are surely quite different things. The meaning seems to be that the cope was flat enough when it was in the clothes-press, but when taken out of press and put on the portly friar it immediately became as round as a bell.

THE MERCHANT.

The Ellesmere picture of the Merchant shows him in his 'motteleye' dress of red, lined with blue, and embroidered with blue and white flowers,—perhaps rather a gayer dress, and with more fashionable boots than Chaucer intended. From the mention of Middelburgh (see quotation from Prof. Hales in note to l. 277) it is probable that he was a Merchant of the Staple, and engaged not merely in inland but in foreign trade. The Staple was a government organization, dating probably from the reign of Edward I., which fixed the town or towns in which the 'staple' products of England, such as wool, hides, and tin, might be sold to foreigners, so as to facilitate the collection of customs. When Chaucer was writing the foreign staple was at Middelburgh, and the Merchant would have to transport his goods thither, and desired that the sea should be well guarded that they might go in safety. Until the reign of Edward III. the most important merchants in England were foreigners, but in his reign there were many English merchants of great wealth.

Chaucer's would not have ranked with these. He was in debt, we are told, and he seems to have made his profits (see note to l. 278) by questionable means.

275. **Sownynge alway thencrees of his wynnyng.** 'Sownynge,' sounding, tending to. The Merchant gave his 'resons' or opinions, on English policy, and these were always affected by his idea as to what would be good for trade and so conduce to the increase of his own profits. His talk was thus the opposite of the Clerk's whose speech was 'sownynge in moral vertu" (l. 307).

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276. **He wolde the see were kept for any thing.** He desired that no matter what might happen ('for anything') the sea should be guarded. This keeping of the sea was the king's duty, 'the old subsidy of tonnage and poundage,' as Tyrwhitt notes, being granted him for this purpose. But the royal ships did not always suffice, for in 1378 a Scotch pirate did such harm to English commerce that one of the rich London merchants, John Philipot, hired ships at his own expense and cleared the sea.

277. **Bitwixe Middelburgh and Orewelle.** Middleburgh is in the isle of Walcheren, nearly opposite the mouth of the Orwell on the Dutch coast. Prof. J. W. Hales, in his *Folia Litteraria* (Seeley, 1893, p. 100) writes: "We are told of the Merchant that he thought it of prime moment that the passage from Harwich to Middelburgh

should be swept clear of pirates. Why Middelburgh? The answer to this query proves that the *Prologue* must have been written not before 1384 and not later than 1388. In 1384 the wool staple was removed from Calais and established at Middelburgh; in 1388 it was fixed once more at Calais (see Craik's *History of British Commerce*, i. 123). The said wool staple led a somewhat nomad life in the fourteenth century: it was at different times established at Bruges and Antwerp, not to mention various towns in England, but its only sojourn at Middelburgh was that in the years 1384-8; and so only just at that time could the Merchant's words have their full significance."

278. **Wel koude he in eschaunge sheeldes selle**: Prof. Flügel notes that by selling at a profit the French crowns (called 'sheeldes,' from having a shield on one side of them) which he received for his goods the Merchant was breaking a statute of Edward III. which forbade anyone to make a profit on exchange, except the royal money changers (25 Edward III., Stat. 5. c. 12). Nowadays the rate of exchange between coins of different countries varies primarily with the balance of trade, but in Chaucer's time there were other variations due to the constant tampering with the coinage, and these variations would offer increased chances of profit. The real insinuation, however, appears to be that under colour of 'exchange' the Merchant made bargains which involved usury. Flügel quotes from an Ordinance against Usurers of 38 Edward III. (*Liber Albus*, ed. Riley, p. 319): "certain persons who ... maintain the false and abominable contract of usury, under cover and colour of good and lawful trading; which kind of contract, the more subtly to deceive the people, they call 'exchange' or 'chevisance'" (cf. l. 282).

284. **I noot how men hym calle.** Chaucer's parade of his ignorance of the Merchant's name is supposed to suggest something of a courtier's contempt for 'city-people.' We may find another reason for his not giving a name in the suspicions he casts on the Merchant's dealings.

THE CLERK.

The term Clerk was applied to any ecclesiastical student, and though Chaucer's Clerk had long applied himself to Logic, the principal subject in the Arts course at all medieval universities, we may think of him as a young man, since twelve or thirteen was the usual age for boys to go to the university. He was still in need of his friends' help to pursue his studies (l. 299), perhaps with a view to taking up the long course in Theology, but had probably taken his bachelor's degree in Arts at Oxford, and perhaps been abroad, according to the peripatetic habits of the day, to learn from foreign teachers. If we were to take the prologue to his *Tale of Grisilde* literally we should have to say that he had been at Padua, where there was a famous university with many foreign students, since he

tells us that he had there met Petrarch. But this was more probably a piece of Chaucer's own experience, and some writers have founded on it a theory that in the character of the Clerk he is really describing himself. For this there is very little to be said, for Chaucer, though he could appreciate the Clerk's unworldliness, was certainly not a man of the same stamp, and would probably have preferred many books to those 'of Aristotle and his philosophie,' not to men-

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tion that he was not an ecclesiastic but a very busy servant of the Crown, the very thing he praises his Clerk for not being. The Ellesmere picture of the Clerk is one of the least successful. Justice is done to the leanness of the horse, but that is all. We may be sure that the Clerk would not have carried his precious books about with him in this promiscuous fashion, and the violet garment he is wearing can hardly be a 'courtepy.'

285. **Oxenford,** "Oxford, as if 'the ford of the oxen' (A.S. Oxnaford); and it has not been proved that this etymology is wrong" (Skeat's note).

291. **For he hadde geten hym yet no benefice:** Dr. Flügel suggests that the Clerk did not wish for a benefice, because the work

of a parson would have taken him from his studies; but Chaucer only says he had not yet got one. According to the picture Wyclif draws of the church patronage at this time, benefices did not easily fall in the way of students who had no money to give in presents and would not neglect their work to make themselves useful to the lord of the manor or agreeable to his lady.

292. **Ne was so worldly for to have office**: clerks monopolized so much of the educated ability of the country that not merely many legal offices, but all sorts of positions of trust in great houses were filled by them.

294. **Twenty bookes, clad in blak or reed**, black calf or red sheep-skin. Red morocco was not yet known in England. Twenty books would not have been a bad library for a poor scholar in Chaucer's days, even if he had copied some of them himself. In the *Legend of Good Women* we hear of 'sixty bookes olde and newe' in Chaucer's own possession, all with stories about women in them. But we must not take this too literally.

295. **Of Aristotle and his philosophie.** In the early days of the University of Paris only the Logic and Ethics of Aristotle were read, his Metaphysics and Natural Philosophy being interdicted. But the interdict was removed in 1255, and for some two and a half centuries from that date Aristotle reigned supreme in all the universities of Europe.

296. **Than robes riche, or fithele, or gay sautrie**: These would have been great temptations to Nicholas, the Oxford clerk, in the *Miller's Tale*, in whose bedroom 'ther lay a gay sautrie On which he made a-nyghtes melodie.'

297. **al be that he was a philosophre**: dabblers in alchemy, as well as students of logic and metaphysics, were called Philosophers (a name for them still preserved in 'the Philosophers' stone'). But their coffers were mostly emptier even than those of Clerks if we may judge from the Canon's Yeoman's Tale.

299. **al that he myghte of his freendes hente**: Dr. Flügel parallels from *God Spede the Plough*, 75: 'Than commeth clerkys of Oxford and make their mone: To her scole hire they most have money.'

307. **Sownynge in moral vertu**: cp. the Doctor's Tale of Virginia (l. 54): 'alle hire wordes, moore and lesse, Sownynge in vertu and in gentillesse.' 'Sounding in' seems to mean something like 'eloquent with,' 'abounding in.'

THE SERGEANT AT LAW.

Sergeants-at-law were the king's servants (servientes) in legal matters, chosen from among barristers of sixteen years' standing, and on their appointment had to give a feast of almost royal magnificence, at which the king himself was sometimes present. From among

them were chosen the judges of the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas. The sergeants who were not judges could continue to plead in court, and win fees and robes from suitors. By means of the wealth they gained, fairly or unfairly, the great lawyers in Chaucer's time were enabled to acquire much landed property, and this 'purchasing' (l. 320) was commonly brought as an accusation against them by the satirists of the day.

THE SERGEANT AT LAW.

310. **That often hadde been at the Parvys**: a Parvys (or Paradise) appears to have been the name given in medieval France and England to a covered place attached to a religious establishment where people could walk about for their pleasure under shelter. At Norwich children were taught to read and sing at the Parvys of S. Martin's Church; at Oxford a Parvys was used for disputations in logic, and at London the portico or Parvys of S. Paul's Cathedral was the great meeting places for lawyers after the courts had shut at mid-day, for consultations and interviews with their clients. [Post meridiem curiae non tenentur, sed placitantes hunc se divertunt ad pervisum et alibi consulentes cum servientibus ad Legem et aliis consiliariis suis. Fortescue, *De laudibus legum Angliae*, cap. 51.]

313. **He semed swich**, etc. Chaucer implies that he would only answer for the Sergeant's words, not for his character, as being 'of great reverence.'

314. **Justice he was ful often in assise**, etc. Assizes are literally 'sittings,' hence the term came to be applied to all legal

proceedings before juries, and so to the sessions held periodically (according to the provisions of Magna Charta, modified by subsequent enactments) in each county of England "for the purpose of administering civil and criminal justice by judges acting under certain special commissions, chiefly and usually, but not exclusively, being ordinary judges of the superior courts." The last sentence in this quotation from the *New Eng. Dict.* explains the sergeant's position. He was not a permanent judge of the court of King's Bench or Common Pleas; had he been so he could not have continued to plead. But when there were not enough judges of the superior courts to go on circuit, he had often acted as an Assize judge by the king's letters patent (*i.e.* a document 'open' for any one to read, not closed like a letter to an individual) and commission.

315. **pleyn commissioun.** The word 'pleyn' may be emphatic here. The sergeant's commission was as full and unrestricted as if he were a judge of a superior court.

317. **Of fees and robes hadde he many oon.** The judges received robes three times a year from the king, but the allusion is not to this, but to the robes, which were given by clients, in addition to fees in money. [Dr. Flügel quotes appositely from Wyclif 'Of *Servants*,' etc.: "and yit men of lawe that schulden distroie siche falsnesse bi here offices and don eche man right and reson meyntenen wrong for money and fees and robes, and forbaren pore men fro here right, that it is betre to hem to pursue not for here right, be it nevere so opyn, than to pursue and lose more catel for disceites of delaies and cauellacions and euele wilis that they usen."]

318. **So greet a purchasour was nowher noon.** The accepted explanation of 'purchasour' is 'conveyancer,' but quotations brought together by Dr. Flügel from Robert of Brunne, Gower, and Wyclif prove that it has its ordinary sense of 'buyer,' or perhaps rather that of a 'buyer up,' with an idea of haste and unscrupulousness which would agree with its derivation from O.Fr. *purchacer* (to pursue eagerly, acquire, get), and account for its being so constantly used in an invidious sense of the dealings of lawyers in land. [The best of Dr. Flügel's parallels is from Wyclif's *Thre Thingis*, where, after accusing lawyers of knavery, he goes on 'and hereby thei geten hem gold and purchasen rentis and londis of lordis and distroien verrey heieris, and this distroieth moche oure land. For hou schulde right be among suche men, that this day han but here penye, and anoon purchasen rentis and londis to be peris with knyttis or barons.']

319. **Al was fee symple**, etc. 'Fee simple' is the legal term for unrestricted possession. The suggestion seems to be that the lawyer bought some rights over a property and converted it by chicanery into 'fee simple,' his skill enabling him to defeat any attempt to annul the purchase on the ground of fraud (l. 320).

322. **And yet he semed bisier than he was**, *i.e.* to make clients think more of him. [It has been suggested that Fielding had this

couplet in his mind in his character of Dowling, the lawyer in *Tom Jones*, who is always in a hurry.]

323. **In termes hadde he caas and doomes alle**, etc. English common law has been built up on legal decisions, and the Sergeant could quote all the cases and judgments from the time of the Conqueror. 'In termes' is explained as 'exactly, precisely.' [I have sometimes thought that it might refer to something like the 'Year-Books,' or annual reports of decided cases, which were already in existence in the reign of Edward III. This would suggest the meaning: "He had all the legal judgments from the time of the Conqueror arranged under the terms when they were delivered." But the other interpretation is more probably the right one.]

325. **make a thyng**: draw up a deed.

328. **He rood but hoomly in a medlee cote**, etc. In the Ellesmere picture the Sergeant has a scarlet robe, with open sleeves, faced with blue (this combination of colours is apparently what Chaucer meant by 'a medlee cote' and Fortescue by *stragulata vestis*) and ornamented with stripes or 'barres smale.' On his shoulders is a white furred hood, and on his head the Sergeant's coif, or head-dress of white.

The Franklin.

A Franklin was a free tenant of the Crown, holding his lands without the obligation of military service or rent. The wealth and importance of this one are shown not only by his keeping open house for all the country side (l. 340), and the mews and fish-ponds attached to his estate which enabled him to do so, but also by his having acted as chairman of the sessions, representative of the shire in Parliament (ll. 355 *sq.*), sheriff of his county, and an accountant or auditor of the local expenditure. The Ellesmere picture does full justice to the whiteness of his beard and shows him in a red surcoat lined with blue, with stripes of fringe across it. At his waist hangs a bottle, probably suggested by l. 334.

333. **Of his complexioun he was sangwyn.** If we take this line in conjunction with its predecessor we shall be tempted to think that Chaucer meant only that the Franklin had a white beard and a ruddy face. But in Chaucer's days a ruddy face was only an incident of a sanguine complexion. The latter word means 'combination,' and was a technical term in medieval medicine for the combination in different proportions of the four 'humours' mentioned in l. 420. The sanguine complexion (as opposed to its three rivals, the melancholy, choleric, and phlegmatic) was a combination of the hot and moist humours, and produced a large desire and capacity for all kind of self-indulgence.

336. **he was Epicurus owene sone**: Epicurus was a Greek philosopher who taught at Athens from 307 B.C. to his death in 270.

Although Epicurus laid down the doctrine that pleasure is the chief good (cp. l. 337 *sq.*), the life that he and his friends led was one of the greatest temperance and simplicity. They were content, we are told, with a small cup of light wine, and an inscription over the gate promised to those who might wish to enter no better fare than barley cakes and water (Chambers' *Encyclopædia*). The crystallization of the slanders upon the Epicureans in the modern word 'epicure' seems to date in England from the sixteenth century.

THE FRANKLIN.

340. **Seint Julian was he in his contree**: St. Julian, to whom no one has ventured to assign a country or date, having murdered his parents under a misapprehension, by way of penance founded a house for travellers on the bank of a dangerous river, over which he ferried his guests. His name was given to many houses of rest for travellers, and the Franklin's hospitality was so great that his house is likened to one of these.

341. **after oon**: according to one quality, and that presumably the best.

342. **A bettre envyned man**: as we should say 'a man with a better cellar.'

350. **many a breem and many a luce in stuwe**: to provide fish for the numerous fast-days, at a time when transit from the coast was slow, it was the custom for large houses, as well as monasteries,

to maintain special fish-ponds or 'stews.' Failing a supply from these they would have to fall back on 'stock fish,' *i.e.* fish hardened and salted.

351. **Wo was his cook.** 'Wo' may be taken either as a substantive with 'cook' as a dative (woe was to his cook, his cook felt woe), or as an adjective. The latter use would be due to a misunderstanding of the former.

352. **al his geere,** presumably the cups and plates for the table.

353. **table dormant,** a 'sleeping' table, *i.e.* one fixed to the floor and so always ready for use, as opposed to a movable one or a board set up over trestles. [Hales' *Domesday of St. Pauls* (Camden Society), p. 137: "In aula fuerunt duo bancha tornatilia et *una mensa dormiens* et unum buffum." Ben Jonson speaks of 'the table dormant' in the *Alchemist* (1610) as if such fixtures were still in use.]

355. **At sessiouns,** etc. The Franklin took the lead among the county magistrates. Chaucer himself was a Justice of the Peace for Kent, and may have had such a franklin as his chairman. Like Chaucer, the Franklin was also a Knight of the Shire (l. 356), *i.e.* a representative in Parliament of a division of a county, as contrasted with the members for boroughs.

357. **An anlaas,** etc. It is characteristic of Chaucer's conversational way of describing his pilgrims that he interrupts his enumeration of the Franklin's dignities with these particulars as to his dagger and pouch, and then resumes them in l. 359.

359. **A shirreve,** the king's steward (reeve) in a shire. The sheriff is responsible for keeping the king's peace, and carrying out all legal judgments. While his year of office lasts, he is the chief man in his shire after the Lord Lieutenant.

countour, accountant or auditor, "an officer who appears to have assisted in early times in collecting or auditing the county dues" (*New Eng. Dict.*).

The Five Gildsmen.

The Fraternities or Gilds of the fourteenth century were of two kinds, those whose objects were purely religious and social, and those of which each was restricted to members of a particular craft or trade, for which they made regulations. These five pilgrims apparently also belonged to their craft-gilds, but as they were of five different occupations, the fraternity of which they all wore the livery was obviously only social and religious. [In Chaucer's time such gilds abounded all over England and we may learn their character from the closely similar rules of the two gilds of S. Katherine and SS. Fabian and Sebastian, both connected with the Church of S. Botulph, Aldersgate, as reported to Richard II. in 1389, adding a few particulars from others in the country. Brothers and

sisters were received into the gild, and paid yearly fees, on the annual day of meeting, when they heard mass and chose their officers; one disabled or in poverty might have a weekly allowance of 14d. (equal to as many shillings in present value) or be helped to get work; a loan could be borrowed, on security, from the gild funds. Funerals of the dead brethren were to be attended by all the members and prayers to be said for their souls, the cost for poor brethren being paid by the gild. Wax lights were to be provided for certain festivals in church. Many gilds undertook the maintenance of the fabric of churches, some supported schools, others repaired bridges or roads. All required good behaviour at feasts and meetings, with obedience to their officers, and these were in many cases required to exercise arbitration between members in dispute. Thus a great part of the social life of the Middle classes between the reigns of Edward III. and Edward VI. centred round the gilds. Yet on the ground that their paying for masses for the souls of dead members made them superstitious institutions, the property of the social and religious class was confiscated by 1 Edward VI., c. 14, a mere fragment of it being devoted to founding grammar schools, while most of the rest was granted to court favourites. A blow was thus struck at English social life from which it has never recovered. (See *English Gilds*. The ordinances of more than one hundred early English gilds, edited by Toulmin Smith, 1870.)]

361. **An Haberdasshere.** The Haberdashers of London were an offshoot of the ancient trade of Mercers, and in Chaucer's time dealt in numerous small wares such as caps and hats, ribands, thread, pins, spectacles, games, paper, and many imported articles. [The name is supposed to come from 'hapertas,' a kind of stout cloth mentioned in the time of Edward I., which they may then have sold. Mr. Saunders, in his book on the *Canterbury Tales*, reminds us that while the most influential London gilds at this time sent six members to the Common Council, the Haberdashers, Weavers and Tapestry-makers sent four each, the Carpenters two, and the Dyers, apparently, none, though it was one of the gilds that possessed the right of keeping swans on the Thames. But, as already noted, although the Haberdasher and his friends doubtless belonged to these city companies, it was the livery of a social and religious gild they were now wearing.]

363. **And they:** resumptive. H smoothes the construction by reading: "Weren with uss eeke, clothed in o lyveree." To illustrate this use of a livery we may quote the rule of the Gild of S. James at Garlekhithe, London (founded in 1375), which provided that "the brethren and sustren of the bretherhede, every yer, shul be clothed in suyt, and every man paye for that he hath." Some gilds, presumably poorer ones, only required their members to wear a gild hood. The suit was intended specially for use at meetings of the gild, but a pilgrimage being an act of religion, and one which many of the gilds favoured, it would be appropriate to wear

the gild livery while engaged in it. The fraternity of the five pilgrims was a "great" and evidently a rich one.

366. **Hir knyves were chaped noght with bras, But al with silver.** Tradesmen and mechanics were forbidden by the sumptuary laws to carry silver-mounted knives, but the wealth of Chaucer's pilgrims (see l. 373) put them into a higher class.

wroght ful clene and weel. [Mr. Liddell puts a semicolon before *wroght* and omits the comma after *weel*, thus restricting *wroght ful clene and weel* to the pouches and girdles. This makes excellent sense, and the omission of a verb is easily paralleled in Chaucer. But it was not his custom to begin so distinct a clause in the middle of one line, and run on without a comma to the next.] With the punctuation here given we must understand *wroght ful clene and weel* to apply to the knives, and take the girdles and pouches as mentioned by an afterthought.

369-370. **a fair burgeys To sitten in a yeldehalle, on a deys:** The municipal government of English towns was recruited from the merchants and chief tradesmen, members of gilds; we have here a genial picture of the well-to-do craftsman and burgess, conscious of his civic wisdom and his full pocket, fit, when his time comes, to sit as alderman with the mayor in the court of hustings in the gildhall of his city—whether London, York, or Winchester, or elsewhere. We should be much mistaken, Chaucer says, to leave the wives out of the question, they were ambitious, too, to be called *Madame*. (Women could belong to gilds, but there does not seem any allusion to that here.) Chaucer's description is written with a courtier's smile, witness, too, the "mantel roialliche y-bore" (see next note).

377, 378. These two lines probably refer to the craft burgesses, not to their wives. In Worcester and in Bristol the members of crafts attended the city officers at the vigils of S. John (Midsummer) and S. Peter. If the wives accompanied them, the richer ones doubtless had their mantles carried for them, as Speght describes in his account of the parish vigils. At the induction of a new mayor of Bristol, if it were his first mayoralty he was "to come without any cloke, in his skarlet goun. And all other that have be mareis, the same wise, sauf their servants shulle bere their clokes after them" (*English Gilds*, pp. 430, 408, 415).

In his glossary to Chaucer, Speght writes: "It was the custom in times past upon festival eves, called vigils, for parishioners to meet in their church-houses, and there to have a drinking-fit [rather a spiteful phrase] for the time. There they used to end many quarrels between neighbour and neighbour; hither came the wives in comely manner; and they which were of the better sort, had their mantles carried with them, as well for show, as to keep them from cold at the table. These mantles also many did use in the church, at morrow-masses, and other times." It was thus evidently the custom on certain occasions for the gild-wives to have their mantles carried for show as well as for use, perhaps aping more high-born ladies.

The Cook.

If not so great a knave as the Pardoner or Summoner, the Cook is among the most disreputable of Chaucer's pilgrims. Though he could make blanc-manges and mortreux, we are not to think of him as a *chef*, able to superintend one of the portentous medieval banquets, but as the proprietor of an eating-house, wont to stand outside

The Cook.

his shop crying "Hote pies, hote, Good gees and grys (pigs), Go we dyne, go we!" like the cooks and their knaves in Langland's *Vision* (Prologue, l. 104 *sq.*), or the sellers of 'Hot shepes feete' in Candlewick Street, of whom we read in the *London Lykpenny*. When, in his unseemly delight at the Miller's tale, he offers to tell a story himself, the Host says to him:

> "Now telle on, Roger, looke that it be good;
> For many a pastee hastow laten blood,
> And many a Jakke of Dovere[1] hastow sold,
> That hath been twies hot and twies cold;
> Of many a pilgrim hastow Cristes curs,
> For of thy percely yet they fare the wors,
> That they hav eten with thy stubbel goos.
> For in thy shop is many a flye loos."

[1] The commentators are uncertain as to whether a Jack of Dover was a sea-fish or a pudding.

The tale he begins to tell is of a rascally apprentice, and we lose little by its being left a mere fragment. As the pilgrims near Canterbury he becomes so drunk that he falls from his horse,

> " And er that he agayn were in his sadel
> Ther was greet shovying, bothe to and fro,
> To lifte hym up, and muchel care and wo,
> So unweeldy was this sory, pallid goost."

In the Ellesmere picture he is represented holding a three-pronged flesh-hook in one hand and his hat in the other, as if appealing to the company for a hearing.

379. **A Cook they hadde with hem,** etc. Apparently the gildsmen, anxious, like city magnates of the present day, that they should have plenty of good fare, had taken the Cook from his shop to cook for them in case of any deficiencies in the inns on the road.

for the nones. See note to l. 545.

382. **Londoun ale.** Tyrwhitt informs us that a century later (in 1504) London ale was priced at 5s. a barrel more than that of Kent. Apparently in Chaucer's time it was already famous.

384. **mortreux.** " Mortrewes we find from a printed MS. of the Royal Society of 'Ancient Cookery,' consisted of pork or other meat brayed in a mortar (in the French, *une mortreuse*, and hence the name), mixed with milk, eggs, spices, etc., and coloured very deep with saffron " (Saunders).

387. **blankmanger.** This appears to have been made of grated capon, milk, cream and rye-flour, boiled with sugar and rose-water.

THE SHIPMAN.

Chaucer's Shipman was the master of his barge, 'the Maudelayne,' since it was he who was responsible for its steering and for the fate of its assailants. A vessel named the 'Magdaleyne' of Dartmouth, Peter Risshenden, master, paid custom duties in 1386, but as Chaucer only says that his Shipman *may* have come from Dartmouth, we must not rush to the conclusion that it was Peter Risshenden who tossed his prisoners overboard, and stole the wine he was carrying. An excellent paper on the Shipman was contributed to Part V. of the Chaucer Society's *Essays* by Dr. P. Q. Karkeek. Most of the following notes are drawn from this.

388. **by weste,** towards the west, in the west country.

389. **For aught I woot he was of Dertemouthe.** A west-country sailor would be likely to come from either Dartmouth or Fowey, as these in Chaucer's days were the two chief western ports. [For the siege of Calais in 1347 Yarmouth contributed 43 ships and 1905 men; Fowey, 47 ships and 770 men; Dartmouth, 31 ships and 757 men; London, only 25 ships and 602 men.]

390. **He rood upon a rouncy as he kouthe.** A rouncy was "a heavy powerful animal, either a packhorse or such as is suited for rough agricultural purposes." Dr. Karkeek suggests that the Shipman had paid the usual two shillings horse-hire for the journey from London to Canterbury, and that the dealer had taken advantage of his sailor's ignorance to give him a bad horse. The words 'as he kouthe' suggest that the Shipman knew very little about riding.

393. **Aboute his nekke,** etc. Sailors in the Royal Navy are said still to carry their knives by means of a cord hung round their necks.

THE SHIPMAN.

397. **Fro Burdeux-ward.** It was the custom to go to Bordeaux once a year to fetch wine. [Dr. Karkeek adds: "Froissart describes a fleet of 'Deux cents nefs d'une voile, marchans d'Angleterre et de Galles et d'Ecosse,' who had come together for the sake of the safety which is supposed to lie in numbers. And the numbers seemed to be enormous. In 1350 no less than 1350 vessels laden with 13429 tuns of wine sailed from Bordeaux." The cost of carriage was 10s. per tun, and the 'tunnage' claimed by the king was 3s. 4d.; each sailor in the vintage season received eight shillings wages and the free carriage of a tun of wine in which he could speculate on his own account. The Shipman, therefore, might have used his own wine on the voyage, but preferred to steal that of one of the merchants.] *Fro Burdeux-ward* = from-ward Bordeaux, coming from Bordeaux.

400. **By water he sente hem hoom**, etc., *i.e.* he threw his prisoners into the sea. This seems to have been the usual practice of the time. Thus at the battle of *L'Espagnols sur mer*, off Winchelsea, 1350, when the King boarded a Spanish ship, "the unhappy Spaniards were hurled into the sea," etc. And in the same battle, when the Prince performed the same exploit, all the Spaniards "were cruelly hove overboard" by his triumphant followers. And a little later, in 1403, the Sire du Chatel having seized some English vessels, "threw all their fighting men into the sea," etc. See Hamilton Williams' *Britain's Naval Power*, 1894, pp. 24, 25, 35 (a reference I owe to Prof. Hales).

402. **hym bisides**, that beset him.

408. **From Gootlond to the Cape of Fynystere**, *i.e.* right along the west coast of Europe from the south of Sweden to the north of Spain. Wisby, the capital of the Isle of Gottland in the Baltic, was one of the chief of the Hanse towns, rivalling Venice in commercial importance, and far exceeding London. It thus formed the furthest goal of ordinary trading voyages to the north.

409. **Britaigne**, Brittany.

Doctor of Physic.

Chaucer's character of his Doctor of Physic introduces us to a world of thought so different from our own that it would need many pages to offer an adequate commentary on it. In his day every part of the human body was supposed to be under the domination of one of the twelve Signs or Constellations (see Chaucer's *Astrology*), Aries governing the head, Taurus the neck, etc. Knowledge of these relations was thought so essential that a picture illustrating them was placed in all the early printed Books of Hours or prayer books for lay use, and a physician was supposed to choose the part of the body at which to bleed a patient according to the sign then in the ascendant. Complications were introduced by the sign under which the patient was born, which was thought to rule his destiny through life; by the sign in the ascendant when his illness began, etc., etc. The skill of the astrologer-physician would be exercised in calculating the hours when the balance of contending influences would be most favourable to his patient, and choosing these for the application of his remedies. These remedies were directed, in the case of disease, to restoring the balance of the four qualities of hot, cold, dry, and moist. [As to these the popular 15th-16th century compendium, *The Kalender of Shepherdes*, remarks "the whiche whan they be well tempred and egall 'that one surmount not the other' than the body of a man is hole. But whan they ben unegall and mysse-tempred, that one domyne over another, than a man is seke or dysposed to sekeness; and they ben the qualytes that the bodyes holdeth of the elementes that they ben made and composed of, that is to wete of the fyre heet, of the water colde, of the ayre moyste, and

of the erth drye" (Pynson's edition, 1506, ed. Sommer, 1892, p. 107).] Chaucer's physician to attain the degree of Doctor of Physic must have mastered all this lore, besides what was known of anatomy and other medical studies, properly so called. He must have been a rich man to take the degree of Doctor, which involved great expenses in fees, presents, and feasting. But he was himself thrifty and abstemious, with a touch of miserliness, and the tendency to

DOCTOR OF PHYSIC.

despise theological studies, which was supposed, down to the days of Sir Thomas Browne, who wrote his *Religio Medici* as a protest, to characterize his profession. In the Ellesmere manuscript the Doctor is shown in a purple surcoat and stockings, with a blue hood trimmed with white fur. He carries with him the large flask, which was taken as the pictorial emblem of his profession, and is scrutinizing its contents.

415. **He kepte his pacient a ful greet deel In houres, by his magyk natureel.** Natural magic was astrology, the science of the 'Magi,' which worked by the observation of the heavenly bodies, as opposed to black magic which dealt with spirits. The Physician watched (kepte) his patient assiduously during the time of the

different conjunctions of the planets so as to apply his remedies at the most propitious moment. [To what has already been said on this point we may add as a further illustration a quotation from a book popular nearly two centuries after Chaucer wrote: "Wherefore first the position and state of the Heavens is necessary to be foreknown, and diligently to be learned of the Phisition, then the first houre of sickness approching, is exquisitely to be sought out: Last of al, the mutuall habite and disposition of the Starres for the time present is aduisedly to be discussed, and perfectly to be examined: For without their secrete influence and working, in humane bodies, there is nothing either sound or subiecte to infirmities. Recurrent acute or vehement deseases engender not: no pacient may possibly be cured by the only arte and industrie of the Phisitian, be he neuer so skilful or diligent, without the favourable configuration and fortunate constitution of them: but either he shall perish, being destitute thereof, or recouer by their meanes. But if the first houre of the desease cannot certainely be knowen, that houre is then to be obserued, in which the desease is first signified unto the Phisitian, and then, a celestiall figure for that time being erected, the position of the Heauens is cunningly to be wayed" (*The learned worke of Hermes Trismegistus intituled Iatromathematica*, London, 1583).]

417 *sq.* **Wel koude he fortunen the ascendent Of his ymages for his pacient.** He was skilful in choosing for making talismans for his patients the times when the influence of the planets would make the talismans most efficacious. The images here mentioned must not be confused with those in the figure of a man which sorcerers made in order by injuring them to work corresponding injuries to the person they represented. Such images were known in England—in the reign of Edward IV. the Duchess of Bedford was accused of making a leaden one in the shape of a man-of-arms to injure the king—but a maker of them, if detected, would have been hanged or burnt. The images here alluded to were talismans, gems, or small plates of metal, such as that to which Dousterswivel in Scott's *Antiquary* (chap. 24) attributed the finding by Sir Arthur Wardour of the hidden treasure. [Thus an image or figure of a falcon cut on a topaz was supposed to attract the favour of kings, while a Lion engraved on gold, made when the Sun was in Leo and the Moon not looking back on Saturn, was a preservative against the stone and all 'hot' complaints. (Falconis imago, si in topatio sit, ad acquirendam beneuolentiam regum, principum et magnatum facit.—Imago Leonis sculpta in auro, Sole existente in Leone, Luna Saturnum non respiciente, praeseruat a calculo calidisque aegritudinibus. *Veterum Sophorum Sigilla et Imagines Magicae, e. Ioan Trithemii manuscripto erutae*, 1612.) Arnold of Villanova, the fashionable teacher when Chaucer's physician was at school, explains very distinctly that the virtue of these talismans depended entirely on the aspect of the planets at the time when they were made. (Ymagines fiunt habentes virtutes lapidum

preciosorum mineralium nec ab aliquo habent virtutem nisi ab aspectu planetarum in tempore quo artificiuntur: cum materia illarum sit terrea, quod aperte fiunt vel metallea, igitur hinc ex parte materiae non potest multam acquirere virtutem: sed solum ex virtuti celesti que fit in tempore factionis eorum. Sic est de confectionibus quibuslibet a medicis compositis. Paulominus habent virtutem a tempore confectionis, sed in illo comparatur melius quam ex parte materiae ex qua componuntur. *Arnoldi de Villanova Opera Omnia*, Lugd. 1520, f. 295.) Chaucer tells us that his physician knew well how to 'fortunen the ascendent' of his images so as to make them efficacious for his patients. Here 'fortunen' is plainly equivalent to the 'shapen for to be fortunat' of a passage in his treatise on the *Astrolabe* (II. § 4), and the 'ascendent of his images' refers to the position of the heavenly bodies at the time chosen for the images or talismans to be made. An Ascendant in astrology is the point of the ecliptic, or degree of the zodiac which at any moment is just rising above the eastern horizon, the 5 degrees of the zodiac above this point and the 25 below it being known as the 'House of the Ascendant.' Thus what the physician did was to choose the time when these degrees were occupied by favourable planets. "Yit seyn thise astrologiens," Chaucer tells us, "that the assendent . . . may be shapen for to be fortunat or infortunat, as thus: a fortunat assendent clepen they whan that no wykkid planete, as Saturne or Mars, or elles the Tail of the Dragoun, is in the hous of the assendent, ne that no wikked planete have non aspecte of enemite upon the assendent; but they wool caste that they have a fortunat planet in hir assendent, and yit in hir felicitee, and than sey they that it is wel." See Chaucer's *Astrology* and the preliminary note on the Doctor.]

420. **Were it of hoot**, etc., the four qualities on the maintenance of which in due proportion the health of the body was supposed to depend. [See quotation from *The Kalender of Shepherdes* in the note on the Doctor.]

427. **ech of hem made oother for to wynne.** [As Gower says (*Mirour de l'Omme*, l. 25627 *sqq.*):

> "L'un la receipte ordeinera
> Et l'autre la componera.
> Mais la value d'un botoun
> Pour un florin vendu serra."]

429-34. **Wel knew he the olde Esculapius**, etc. If we understand from these five lines that the Physician had read all the best medical authors and that Chaucer was learned enough to have heard of them, we shall carry away the impression we are meant to receive. But brief notes on each writer will be found in the following skilful summary: ["The order of the fifteen names in Chaucer's list is mainly historical—first the Greeks, then the Arabs, then the more modern men. Inside these divisions the order is mainly decided by con-

siderations of rhythm or rhyme. AESCULAPIUS heads the list, and the physician would have found some difficulty to know his works, for he left none, if indeed he ever existed. It has been suggested that his name may have been borrowed from some treatise on medicine not now extant, but this is to enter the large and fertile but unsatisfactory field of conjecture. HIPPOCRATES the Great—his name corrupted in the middle ages to Ypocras, and then used also for the name of a cunningly compounded drink—belongs to the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ. His treatises are the earliest extant upon medicine. DIOSCORIDES, a writer on *materia medica*, chiefly herbs, is the earliest after the Christian era. GALEN and RUFUS also belonged to the second century, living in the palmy days of the Roman Empire, when the model Emperor Trajan was master of the world. Rufus was of Ephesus and wrote on the names of the parts of the human body. Galen—spelt in the Middle Ages, Galien—was probably the most eminent of all on the list. It may be doubted whether medical science made much advance from Galen to Chaucer's time. In the list of the Arabian authorities Chaucer has preserved no order. When Greek learning became pedantry, the torch of medical learning kindled at that of the Greek schools was kept alight at Damascus and Bagdad. JOHN OF DAMASCUS represents the one, and RHAZES, a great authority on small-pox, the other. Both belong to the ninth century. Next come three eleventh-century men. AVICENNA (born at Bokhara), Haly, and Serapion. AVERROES (born in Cordova) is of the twelfth. HALY is Alhazen, a Persian, author of a medical treatise known as the *Royal Book*, but more famous for his knowledge and discoveries in astronomy, *i.e.* astrology; but Chaucer's physician recognized a close connexion between star-lore and the healing craft. Indeed, several of the six were not specially distinguished as physicians, but as men of wide learning. Avicenna was a commentator upon Aristotle, and Averroes upon Plato and Aristotle. Avicenna's book was the *Canon of Medicine*, a text-book of medical study in the European universities of the Middle Ages. No doubt the physician read all these books in Latin—in his time Greek was never studied, much less Arabic. SERAPION is a Greek name, and it was that of a famous physician living long before the time of Christ, an Alexandrine Greek who wrote against Hippocrates. His works, however, are not extant, and it is more likely that the reference is to one of two Arab physicians of the name, who very likely assumed it because of its ancient renown; they belonged to the eleventh century. CONSTANTYN is Constantius Afer, a native of Carthage, and probably of Arab origin, but a Christian monk, who left Carthage and became one of the founders of the famous medical school at Salerno in Italy. The three last [authorities] mentioned by Chaucer lived nearer to his own time. GILBERTYN is Gilbertus Anglicus, Gilbert the Englishman, who wrote his *Compendium Medicinae* at some time after the middle of the thirteenth century. BERNARD GORDON was a Scot, who became Professor of Medicine at Montpellier. JOHN OF GADDESDEN, of Merton Col-

lege, Oxford, belongs to the generation just before Chaucer's, dying in 1361. He is usually described as Court Physician to Edward II. He certainly had a large London practice, and once treated the king's brother for small-pox, [by wrapping him] in scarlet cloth, in a bed and room with scarlet hangings" (Prof. E. E. Morris, on "The Physician in Chaucer" in *An English Miscellany*, Oxford, 1901)]. Gaddesden was of a thrifty disposition, and it has been conjectured, though without much grounds, that Chaucer had him in his mind in this sketch.

438. **His studie was but litel on the Bible.** [Prof. E. E. Morris not unfairly comments "Incidentally Chaucer remarks that the study of the physician was 'but litel on the Bible.' This comes as a surprise to those who thought that Protestantism first introduced the study of the Bible amongst the laity. There is a truly modern flavour about the jibe." As a matter of fact the knowledge of the Bible shown by most medieval writers is very great, and the only reason why it was not translated sooner was that almost everyone who could read at all could read Latin. But Sir Thomas Browne owns of his fellow-physicians "The villany of (the Devil) takes a hint of infidelity from our studies, and by demonstrating a naturality in one way makes us mistrust a miracle in another." Hence the proverb "Ubi tres medici, duo athei," despite the twenty-nine medical saints and martyrs in the Roman calendar.]

441. **esy of dispence**, a sluggish spender.

443. **For gold in phisik is a cordial.** Modern medicine is content to be mainly empirical, the old practitioners tried to imagine what remedies *ought* to be good in the nature of things, and in the nature of things any very precious substance seemed likely to be very efficacious. [Hence the famous electuary of gems recorded by Mesue, in which not only gold and silver leaf but pearls, fragments of sapphire, jacynth, garnets, emerald, sard, etc., were among the thirty-three ingredients. This not only cured palpitations of the heart and syncope, but improved the morals, for which reason it was much recommended to kings. In writing on gold Serapion says "limatura auri confert cardiacae melancholicae et debilitati cordis," and Avicenna asserts that it strengthens the heart, so that *cordial* has its full meaning, something good for the heart, rather than, more generally, 'a sovereign remedy,' as it is usually explained. The belief in gold as a remedy lasted long after Chaucer's time. In 1610 there was published at Cambridge a tract, entitled "Medicinæ chymicæ et veri potabilis auri assertio ex lucubrationibus Francisci Anthonii," which provoked much controversy (cp. the epitaph on Anthony in St. Bartholomews the Great, 'Yet shall they all commend that high design Of purest gold to make a medicine,' etc., quoted in Knight's *London*, ii. 59-61, 1842 ed.). As late as 1721 at least two formulae containing gold appear in the authorized pharmacopoeia issued with the sanction of such men as Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Mead. For the information in this note I am

indebted to Dr. J. F. Payne and Prof. Hales. I may add that if we ask why gold was thought to be specially good for the heart the most probable answer is, because the heart was influenced by the sign Leo, which was the House of the Sun, and gold is the metal of the Sun. See Chaucer's *Astrology*, §§ 4, 12, etc.]

The Wife of Bath.

Chaucer has supplemented this character-sketch of the Wife of Bath by making her give, as a prologue to her tale, an only too vivid history of her very varied married life. From this we learn

The Wife of Bath.

that she was married for the first time at twelve, and for the fifth at forty. Age, she tells us, had now bereft her of her beauty, but in a phrase which even in the mouth of so coarse a woman retains some pathos, she says also,

> " Unto this day it doth myne herte boote
> That I have had my world as in my tyme."

Her first three husbands were all rich old men, who left her their lands. As Bath was a centre of the cloth trade we must imagine

that one of them had been a cloth-maker (this according to the trade custom of the time would give anyone who married his widow a right to succeed to his place in the clothmaker's gild) and so account for the Wife's own skill in the craft. The gild system did not encourage the employment of women in manufactures, but in the kindred craft of the Fullers a workman was allowed to work "with the master's wife or her maid who sits at her table" (*Regulation of the Lincoln Fullers*, 1337) though with no other woman. Next to her matrimonial experiences, the most noteworthy thing which Chaucer tells us about her is the extent of her pilgrimages, on the longest of which she seems to have gone alone, since she says of her fourth husband "He deyde whan I cam fro Jerusalem," which implies that he had not gone with her. But such long journeys seem to have been more rather than less common in Chaucer's time than now, as is suggested by special provision being made for them in the ordinances of some of the gilds. Thus in the rules of the Tailors of Lincoln we read: "if anyone (*i.e.* any member of the gild) wishes to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land of Jerusalem, each brother and sister shall give him a penny; and if to St. James's or Rome, a halfpenny; and they shall go with him outsides the gates of the city of Lincoln; and on his return they shall meet him and go with him to his mother church." In the same way a brother or sister of the gild of the B.V. Mary at Hull, who wished to go to the Holy Land, were released from the yearly payment "in order that all the gild may share in his pilgrimage." In the Ellesmere manuscript the Wife is depicted, quite appropriately, as riding astride her horse, the custom of women riding side-saddle having only been introduced into England by Anne of Bohemia, Richard II.'s first wife, and not yet having become general, though the fashionable Prioress is made to adopt it. The artist has done justice to the size of the Wife's hat and kerchiefs. Her gown is red, her trouser-like foot-mantel blue. The scarlet hosen are not visible.

446. **She was som-del deef, and that was scathe.** The little deafness for which Chaucer pities the Wife was the result of a blow received from her fifth husband who, while reading out sarcasms on women from an old book, suddenly found himself knocked into the fire and three leaves torn out of his precious manuscript. He was so frightened, when she fainted at the blow he gave her in return, that the book was burnt and she ruled him, for his good, ever afterwards.

447. **Of clooth-makyng she hadde swich an haunt,** etc. The making of cloth, in which the Wife was so expert, was at this time one of the chief west-country industries, so much so that the manufacturers of this district had developed their own tricks of trade, and in 13 Richard II. those of Somerset, Dorset, Bristol, and Gloucester were forbidden so to fold and tack their cloths as to prevent purchasers from examining them. In 50 Edward III. the merchants of Bristol were forbidden to interfere with the annual cloth-fair held at

Bath, and that they had attempted to do so proves how important a centre of the trade Bath had then become.

448. **She passed hem of Ypres and of Gaunt:** Ypres, Ghent, and Bruges were the chief seats of the Flemish wool trade in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was from these towns that the Flemish weavers were attracted by the protection offered by Edward III. to settle in large numbers in England. It is probable that Chaucer had these immigrants in mind when he wrote this verse: the Wife was cleverer than the foreign workmen who came over to teach her.

449. **wif ne was ther noon That to the offrynge bifore hire sholde goon.** Cp. l. 377. Precedence was immensely thought of in the Middle Ages, and is still respected in country churches. [A rare example of 'going' to the offering survives at S. John's College, Cambridge, where, at the offertory in the Communion Service, those present go up in order of their academical rank and place their offering on a small table set near the altar rails, at which they kneel before going back to their seat. This must exactly continue the medieval custom.]

453. **fyne ... of ground,** finely woven.

454. **they weyeden ten pound:** this is said to be only a slight exaggeration.

457. **streyte,** straitly, tightly.

460. **at chirche dore.** The greater part of the marriage-service, including the putting on of the ring, used to be said before (*i.e.* outside) the church door. [The rubrics directing this continue to be quite explicit in the Sarum Manuals of the sixteenth century (In primis statuantur vir & mulier ante ostium ecclesie coram sacerdote & populo ... [After the joining of hands and benediction] Hic intrent ecclesiam usque ad gradum altaris. *Manuale ad usum Eccl. Sar.*, Paris, 1526). A good picture of such a marriage outside the church will be found in a French fifteenth-century *Horae* at the British Museum, Add. MS. 27697. No doubt the object of the custom was to ensure the greatest possible publicity for the fact of marriage.]

461. **Withouten oother compaignye,** besides other lovers. ["This expression (copied from Le Rom. de la Rose, l. 12985—'autre companie') makes it quite certain that the character of the Wife of Bath is copied in some respects from that of *La Vieille* in the Roman de la Rose, as further appears in the Wife's Prologue." Skeat's note.]

465. **at Boloigne,** probably Boulogne, where an image of the B. Virgin, or rather a fragment of one, is still venerated. Pilgrimages were also made to Bologna, but it is reasonable to suppose that the reference is to the nearer place.

466. **In Galice at Seint Jame:** the shrine of S. James, the Greater, at Compostella in Galicia in Spain.

466. **and at Cologne** : the shrine of the Three Kings of the East who ended their travels at Cologne.

468. **Gat-tothed.** According to Prof. Skeat, this means "gap-toothed (a *gat* is an opening, and is allied to *gate*), having teeth wide apart or separated from one another," supposed to be a sign that one "should be lucky and travel." This suits the context here very well, but in the Wife's Prologue she says (D 603 *sq.*):

> " Gat-tothed I was, and that bicam me weel
> I hadde the prente of Seint Venus seel " :

and this points rather to the derivation goat-toothed, *i.e.* lascivious. If the word were in common use it would account for Chaucer's retaining any popular pronunciation, despite the fact that his ordinary form for 'goat' is 'goot.'

475. **Of remedies of love she knew per chaunce**, etc. [Prof. Liddell omits the stop at the end of the previous line, so that 'remedies of love' are made the subject of the wife's 'carping.' But this gives no very good sense to 'per-chance,' and the ellipse of the relative (she knew = which she knew) is also against it. With the punctuation here adopted the most pointed sense would be obtained by giving initial capitals to 'remedies' and 'love' and translating: Perhaps she knew Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* [this, of course, is a jest] for she was well versed in all the approved devices of lovemaking. If we reject this, we must make a knowledge of the 'remedies' of (means of relieving, *i.e.* gratifying) love, distinct from a knowledge of love's 'old dance' (the recognized tricks of lovers).]

THE POOR PARSON.

Professor Skeat remarks that "Chaucer, in his description of the parson, contrasts the piety and industry of the secular clergy with the wickedness and laziness of the religious orders or monks" This goes a little beyond the record. Chaucer's characters are individuals, and we cannot fairly say that because he drew a good parish priest (a 'parson,' it should be noted, was properly a 'rector'), a good knight, and a good clerk he meant to hold up knights, parish priests, or clerks for our admiration as contrasted with other professions. In the Miller's tale he draws a picture of a clerk who is a worthless fellow enough, and here in describing the Parson he contrasts him (l. 507 *sqq.*) with other members of his own order. A passage in Mr. G. M. Trevelyan's *England in the Age of Wycliffe* illustrates very well the temptations by which 'poor parsons' in Chaucer's time were beset, and to which too many of them succumbed. "The inadequate stipends of many parsons caused many of the less faithful to desert their ill-paid duties. 'It has come to our ears,' wrote Archbishop Sudbury (Wilkins iii. 120), 'that rectors of our diocese scorn to keep due residence in their churches, and go to dwell in distant and perhaps unhonest places, without our license,

and let their churches out to farm to persons less fitted. Lay persons with their wives and children sometimes dwell in their rectories, frequently keeping taverns and other foul and unhonest things in them.' Although the Primate complained when this was done without his license, such licenses to let out the rectory to farm were easily obtained from the Bishops (MS. Calendar of Lambeth Register, Lambeth Library, *passim*). To regard the cure of souls as a source of income only, was then recognized and even authorised. Many

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parsons without leaving a vicar in charge, deserted their dull round of duties among an ignorant and half-savage peasantry, to live in the great cities or in the mansions of the nobility. Here it was not hard for them to get employment as chantry priests, to sing private masses; with the money earned for such easier tasks they eked out the pittance received for parish duties which they were neglecting. As Langland wrote (*Prol.* B 83-86):

> 'Parsones and parisch prestes pleyned hem to the bischop,
> That here parisshes were pore, sith the pestilence tyme,
> To have a lycence and a leve at London to dwelle,
> And syngen there for symonye, for silver is swete.'

As the tithes and dues were partially or wholly alienated the parish priest was in great need of a good stipend from the patron of the living. But Bishops and Parliaments combined to keep these stipends down by ordinances and statutes comparable to the Statutes of Labourers. [In 1354 Archbishop Islip limited these fees to seven marks a year as a maximum. Eight years later Parliament (36 Edwar. III. i. cap. 8) set a limit of six marks. The Black Death had made priests scarce, and like the labourers they took advantage

of the scarcity to try to improve their social position. How low that position was is illustrated by the chronicler's remark that these limitations of their stipends forced many to steal (*Wals.* i. 297). One is glad to find that the Act was no more successful than the Acts for keeping down other wages, since a statute of Henry the Fifth's reign complained that parsons refused to serve for less than ten, eleven, or even twelve marks. At this stage of the question Archbishop Chicheley supported them, declaring that no vicar ought to be allowed less than such a sum]" (*England in the Age of Wycliffe*, by G. M. Trevelyan, pp. 123 *sq.*). While the poor parsons were thus tempted to desert their flocks to gain an easier livelihood, we know from Bishops' visitation enquiries, the attacks of satirists, and the complaints of Wyclif, that other parish priests were concerned chiefly to make themselves useful to the patron or agreeable to his lady, and that others again, where their benefices were rich ones, showed themselves as fond of hunting and as extravagant in dress as Chaucer's Monk. We can thus draw no general conclusion as to the merits of the parish clergy of the fourteenth century from this portrait of one priest, beyond the fact that there were some saints to be found among them. The best pendant indeed to Chaucer's picture is the story told by Caxton (in the Epilogue to his *Aesop*) of a worldly ecclesiastic who, finding that an old friend of his was rector of a fine church, asked him, a little jealously, how much the living was worth to him a year.

"'Forsothe,' sayde the good symple man, 'I wote neuer; for I make neuer accompte therof, how wel I haue had hit four or fyue yere.' 'And knowe ye not,' said he, 'what it is worth? It shold seme a good benefyce.' 'No, forsothe,' sayd he, 'but I wot wel what it shalle be worth to me.' 'Why,' sayd he, 'what shalle hit be worth?' 'Forsothe,' sayd he, 'if I doo my trewe dylygence in the cure of my parysshens, in prechyng and techynge; and doo my parte longynge to my cure, I shalle haue heuen therfore, and if theyre soules ben lost, or ony of them, by my defawte, I shall be punysshed therfore, and hereof am I sure.'

"'This was a good answere of a good preest and an honest,' comments Caxton, and we may be sure that Chaucer's Parson would have approved it."

It is rather surprising to a modern reader to find the Parson depicted in the Ellesmere MS. as wearing a red gown, but in the fourteenth century this seems to have been the usual colour for a parish priest to wear.

480. **He was also a lerned man**, etc. Many priests, Wyclif says, got themselves ordained by bribery, and "afterward wolen not bisien hem to lerne, but bete stretis up an doun and synge and pleie as mynstralis and use vanytee and ydelnesse" so that "men scornen hem in seynge of here servyce and redynge of here pistil and gospel." Chaucer was not content that his ideal priest should be a good shepherd, he must be a good teacher as well.

486. **Ful looth were hym to cursen for his tithes.** Wyclif (*Of Clerkes Possessioners*, Cap. 25) speaks of men who "for foure peny-worth good curse many thousand soules to helle." A man who remained obdurate after being thus excommunicated could eventually be imprisoned.

489. **Of his offryng and eek of his substaunce.** The Easter offering (the traditional amount seems to have been two pence for each person) has always been for the benefit of the parson. *Substaunce* must denote the priest's property, however derived.

494. **muche and lite,** almost the same as "of heigh or lowe estat" in l. 522.

495. **Upon his feet, and in his hand a staf.** Because Chaucer's priest thus traversed his parish he has been sometimes confounded with the 'poor priests' whom Wyclif sent preaching through the country. This is even more unreasonable than the accusation, brought against him in one of the Talks on the Road by the Shipman and Host, of being a Lollard (B 1172-1182) because he objected to swearing. All religious teachers who try to lead a spiritual life in a worldly age are likely to have many points in common. But there is no reason whatever to think that Chaucer sympathized with any of Wyclif's specific doctrines. Sir John Seeley's guess that the Poor Parson was intended for Wyclif himself is absolutely baseless. Wyclif's followers had no love for pilgrimages, and it is thus the more unreasonable to make this pilgrim-parson a Wyclifite, merely because he was a good man.

498. **Out of the gospel.** Matt. v. 19: [" Qui autem fecerit et docuerit hic magnus vocabitur in regno caelorum."]

500. **if gold ruste what shal iren doo?** [Prof. Kittredge (*Modern Lang. Notes*, xii. 113) has discovered a use of this 'figure' in *Li Romans de Carité*: "so ors enrunge, queus ert fers?" We cannot tell where Chaucer got it from.]

507. **sette nat his benefice to hyre.** Cp. the quotation in preliminary note on the Parson. [It was not only bad parsons who did this. In the tract *Of Servants and Lords* Wyclif says that "a gostly curat or prest that lyveth a good lif in mekenesse and doynge almes to pore men" . . . more especially if he reprove lords "of here wicked lif and teche hem the beste weie to hevene" may be so persecuted "that he schal be fayn to sette his chirche to ferme" and go elsewhere.]

509. **unto Seint Poules.** According to Dugdale there were thirty-five chantries at S. Paul's served by fifty-four priests. In 1391, soon after the *Prologue* was written, the Dean and Chapter prohibited any chantry at S. Paul's being held except by their own minor canons (Cutts, *Parish Priests and their People*, p. 464 note).

510. **To seken hym a chaunterie for soules.** A chantry was a provision for a priest to sing mass daily and say other prayers for the repose of a soul. The usual remuneration in the fourteenth century was

£5 a year, and as the priest was left with nearly all his time to himself it was an easy way of getting a living. [Some testators, however, while providing for these masses to be sung for their own souls provided also for the education of poor children, the chantry-priest being required to act as school-master. The sweeping away many of these chantry-schools was one of the crimes which attended the English Reformation. A good instance of a bequest for priestly services only is that of Robert Johnson, Alderman of York (*Test. Ebor.* iv. 121, quoted by Cutts): "I leave to the exhibition of an honest prest to synge at the alter of Our Lady daily by the space of vij yeres xxxvli. And I will that what prest that shall serve it every day, whan that he hath saide masse, shall stand afore my grave in his albe and ther to say the psalme of *De Profundis*, with the collettes, and then cast holy water upon my grave."]

511. **Or with a bretherhed to been withholde**: "or to be kept away from his parish in the service of a gild." A few of the gilds (see supra, note on the 'Five Gildsmen') had chaplains of their own [*e.g.* the chief object of the Gild of S. George, the Martyr, founded in 1376, at Bishop's Lynn, was "to fynden a Preste to syngen atte autere of Seint George in the chirche of Seinte Margere of Lenne, in the worship of God and the holy martir, and for alle the brethir and sistren that to the ffraternite longes" (Toulmin Smith, *Early English Gilds*, p. 74)]. The rest paid for masses to be said on the death of one of their members, the number of masses varying from ten to thirty or more. There was thus clerical work, both temporary and permanent, to be obtained from them.

514. **He was a shepherde, and noght a mercenarie**: Dr. Flügel shows that 'chappelain mercenaire' was a recognized title in French for priests who made their living solely by saying Mass; but the reference is surely not to this, but to John x. 12: "Mercenarius autem, et qui non est pastor, cujus non sunt oves propriae, videt lupum venientem, et dimittit oves, et fugit."

517. **daungerous ne digne**: neither domineering nor disdainful.

523. **for the nones**, see note to l. 545.

526. **a spiced conscience**: "*Spiced* here seems to signify, says Tyrwhitt, nice, scrupulous .... The origin of the phrase is French. The name of *espices* (spices) was given to the fees or dues which were payable (in advance) to judges. A 'spiced' judge, who would have a 'spiced' conscience, was scrupulous and exact, because he had been prepaid, and was inaccessible to any but large bribes" (Skeat's note). Accepting Dr. Skeat's history of the word we may question whether the sense should not be the reverse of that he assigns. On the low view of human nature which predominates in word-making a prepaid judge would not be 'scrupulous and exact,' but disinclined to trouble himself. Cp. D 434-6:

> "Ye sholde been al pacient and meke
> And han a sweete spiced conscience,
> Sith ye so preche of Jobes pacience":

where 'spiced' seems to mean easy-going. Dr. Liddell writes: '*a spiced conscience* was one that depended on formal distinctions, *spiced* being identical in meaning with N.E. *specious*.' This would account for the two apparently contradictory meanings the word seems to have, for it is as easy by artificial distinctions to turn wrong into right as right into wrong.

The Ploughman.

As Chaucer's Ploughman paid tithes, both of the fruits of his tillage and of his cattle, he must have been his own master, not merely a 'hind,' or hired labourer, though not far removed from one. He may have been a small tenant farmer, or the lands he held may have been 'Lammas lands,' *i.e.* the property of the village, but held as private property, from August to August, by successive cultivators. The latter supposition would fit very well with his lending a hand to a poor neighbour, as under the Lammas system such mutual help would be needed. As he tells no story there is no picture of him in the Ellesmere manuscript.

529. **was his brother.** The relative (who) is here omitted, just as the pronoun (he) in introducing the Parson (l. 468). There was nothing unusual in Chaucer's days in a priest, although 'a lerned man, a clerk' having the smallest of small farmers as his brother.

539. **His tithes payede he ful faire and wel.** The smallest pig in a litter is still called 'the parson's pig' as the one which a reluctant tithe-payer would offer his parson. In the Wakefield miracle-play of the "Death of Abel," Cain is shown counting his corn-sheaves wrongly, so as to make fewer tenths among them, and refusing to include any of the specially good ones.

540. **Bothe of his propre swynk and his catel**: *i.e.* both of the fruits of the fields he ploughed and of the increase of his cattle.

541. **In a tabard he rood upon a mere.** Chaucer mounts his ploughman on a mare, as became his social position. No person pretending to belong to the 'quality' would have mounted a mare, except under circumstances of the direst necessity. [In a Latin poem on the execution of Archbishop Scrope (1405) allusion is made to the additional indignity of being led to the scene of punishment riding on a mare: "jumento vehitur hinc ad supplicium" (Dr. Karkeek).] Save that it is doubtful whether it had sleeves, the tabard was the fourteenth century equivalent for the smock-frock now dying out of use.

The Miller.

A lively account of the rights and privileges of a Scottish miller will be found in Chap. XIII. of Sir Walter Scott's *Monastery*, and with some difference of terms this will apply very well to Chaucer's Miller. There was little free-trade in milling in those days, and

restrictions survived as late as the eighteenth century. Every one raising corn on a manor would have to take it to the manor mill to be ground, and thus, free from any check of competition, medieval millers became famous for their knavish thefts. In the *Reeve's Tale* Chaucer tells how two Cambridge clerks tried to protect the college corn by standing one where the corn went in, the other where the

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meal came out. But the Miller turned their horse loose and made it run away, and while they were trying to catch it he stole more than ever. Scott suggests that millers in those days had to be 'stout carles,' like the Miller of the *Prologue*, to silence complainants and enforce their fines, when corn was taken to be ground elsewhere. The illustration in the Ellesmere manuscript does justice both to our Miller's blue hood and to his bagpipe. As to the appropriateness of this last on a pilgrimage, see Introduction.

545. for the nones. The *n* in *nones* belongs to the previous word, cp. *atte nale=atten ale*, at the alehouse (D 1349), *then* being a corruption of *thæm*, the old dative of the definite article. Thus, *for the nones* is 'for the once,' for the occasion. In ll. 379, 523 the

meaning is clear. The gildsmen took the cook with them, the Parson reproved his erring parishioners 'for the occasion,' *i.e.* for that particular time. It is not so easy to see why we are told that the Miller was a stout carl for the occasion. It has been suggested to me that the order of the words is loose, and that we should take *for the nones* with *Miller*, *the Miller for the nones* being equivalent to 'the Miller we had with us,' 'our particular Miller.' But perhaps Chaucer means that the Miller was a stouter fellow than you could expect to meet on a peaceful pilgrimage.

547. **That proved wel,** his muscle and bones stood the test of hard work.

548. **he wolde have alwey the ram.** The ram was the usual prize at a wrestling match. For 'have alway' (E. C. Hn.), H reads 'bere awey.'

561. **And that,** *i.e.* his talk.

562. **and tollen thries,** take his proper toll or due three times over.

563. **And yet he hadde a thombe of gold, pardee.** "If the allusion be, as is most probable, to the old proverb *Every* [*An*?] *honest Miller has a thumb of gold*, this passage may mean that our Miller, notwithstanding his thefts, was *an honest miller*, *i.e.* as honest as his brethren" (Tyrwhitt's note). But honest in the fourteenth century did not necessarily refer to scrupulous integrity: it carried with it the idea of skill, just as 'good' does at present. The miller's thumb is said to take a peculiar shape from its constant use in testing the fineness of samples of corn or flour spread out on the palm of the hand. The proverb may be one of those which owe their success to their bearing two meanings, (i.) a clever miller grows rich, (ii.) an upright miller is as rare as one with a gold thumb. But I am inclined to take it here in its good sense and paraphrase, 'he could steal cleverly and yet he had no need to, since he was skilful and could have done well without stealing.'

THE MANCIPLE.

A Manciple (the derivation of the word seems uncertain) is a servant of a college or inn-of-court who purchases provisions under the direction of the cook and the steward. Chaucer's Manciple was attached to 'a temple,' *i.e.* to one of the two inns-of-court (Inner and Middle Temple) which occupied the buildings of the old Knights Templar in the Strand at London. In an account of the Middle Temple (quoted by Robert Pearce, in his *Guide to the Inns of Court* (1855 ed., p. 276) from a manuscript of the time of Henry VIII. (Cotton MS. Vitell. c. ix.), the wages of the steward are given as 53s. 4d., the chief cook received 40s., while "the manciple, or steward's servant, his wages by the year" were 26s. 8d. A note informs us, "also at Easter the cook's manciple has in reward of every

gentleman of the house 12d. or therabouts," and if this refers to the same person his wage must thus have been considerably increased. As Chaucer, however, plainly hints, the Manciple had ways of making money independently of his wages and tips. In the Talks

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by the Road the hint is repeated, for when the Manciple lectures the Cook on his drunkenness, the tolerant Host remarks:

" But yet, Manciple, in feith thou art to nyce[1]
Thus openly repreve hym of his vice;
Another day he wole, peraventure,
Reclayme thee[2] and bringe thee to lure,—

[1] *to nyce*, too foolish. [2] *reclayme thee*, etc., pull you up short.

I meene he speke wole of smale thynges,
As for to pynchen at thy rekenynges :
That were nat honeste,[1] if it cam to preef.
No, quod the Manciple, that were a greet mescheef!
So myghte he lyghtly bryng me in the snare";

and to propitiate the already drunken Cook he gives him a draught of wine from a 'gourd' he carries with him. According to Mr. Saunders it is this gourd or bottle that he is carrying in his hand in the Ellesmere picture, and Mr. Saunders is probably right. His coat is blue ; its lining, as well as the cape, hose, and purse, red.

567. **of a temple**, *i.e.* of an inn of court, or college for lawyers. After the dissolution of the order of the Knights Templar in 1312 the house which they had built for themselves in the Strand in the reign of Henry II. was first bestowed on some royal favourites and ultimately by Edward III. on the Knights Hospitaller of S. John, who let it, it is said for a rent of £10, to the teachers and students of law who had previously occupied Thavies Inn, Holborn. The buildings were attacked and the lawyers' records destroyed by Wat Tyler, but the Temple is still occupied by the lawyers at the present day.

570. **took by taille**, *i.e.* on credit. The 'taille,' or tally, was a stick marked with notches to indicate payments. When split down the middle it provided debtor and creditor with identical records. The use of tallies in the Exchequer for certain purposes survived till about 1812.

581. **by his propre good**, on his own income.

582. **wood**, mad.

586. **sette hir aller cappe :** set the caps of, *i.e.* befooled, them all. *Hir atter* is the genitive plural. We find the phrase again in A 3143, 'a clerk hath set the wrightes cappe,' and in A 3911 the similar one, 'somdeel sette his howve.' A very slight alteration in the tilt of a hat will make the most respectable citizen look ridiculous.

The Reeve.

It is fortunate that Chaucer's sketch of the Reeve presents no difficulties, as materials for illustrating it are unusually scanty. Except from the accounts of Robert Oldham, the bailiff of Cuxham in Roger's *Agriculture and Prices in England* (Vol. I.) there is little to be gleaned. In noting that Oldham was a serf of the manor, Prof. Skeat adds "as reeves always were"; but the Oldhams lived before the Black Death, in which the whole family perished, and it seems improbable that Chaucer's Reeve, who belongs to a period some forty years later, was a serf. The Ellesmere picture shows the Reeve wearing a blue coat, with a red hood and red

[1] *that were nat honeste*, that would not be creditable.

stockings. From the Talks by the Road, in which he fell foul of the Miller for bringing a member of his old craft of carpentry into ridicule, we learn that his name was Oswald. It is perhaps noteworthy that Chaucer makes him come from one of the eastern counties, with which his own family had connexion, and further localises him as belonging to a small place like Baldeswell.

587. **colerik**. See note on *sangwyn*, l. 333.

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590. **His tope was doked**, etc., his hair was cut short at the front of his head. The allusion is not to a priest's tonsure, but to his hair being kept short.

594. **on him wynne**, get the better of him.

602. **brynge hym in arrerage**, whatever money he had to receive on his lord's behalf he always collected it in good time.

603. **There nas baillif**, etc. 'Bailiff' and 'reeve' are usually treated as exchangeable terms for the same office. If the Reeve had one or more bailiffs under him they must have had the management of separate farms, while he was bailiff of the whole manor. It does not seem probable that a bailiff of another estate altogether would have stood in such terror of Oswald.

606. **His wonyng**, etc. It is perhaps not fanciful to think that the mention of the Reeve's prettily-situated house just here was

caused by the thought of herdsmen and labourers coming to him with their accounts, all the more afraid of him because he lived in a good house. Then we have the usual suggestion how he came to be so well off. Like the Merchant, Lawyer, Shipman, Cook, Miller, and Manciple, the Reeve made dishonest profits. The imputations become almost monotonous.

615. **stot**, a low-bred undersized horse.

616. **Scot**, said in Bell's edition of Chaucer to be still a Norfolk name for a horse.

620. **a toun men clepen Baldeswelle.** Baldeswell, or Bawdeswell, is part of the hundred of Eynford in Norfolk. [According to Blomfield's *History of Norfolk* (Vol. VIII.), with the neighbouring manor of Foxley, it passed, 13 Richard II., on the death of John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, to Reginald, Lord Grey, of Ruthyn.]

621. **Tukked**, *i.e.* with his long coat shortened by being hitched up and kept so by a girdle.

622. **And ever he rood the hyndreste**, etc., probably rather from unsociability than, as has been suggested, because his horse was a bad one.

The Summoner.

The Summoner or Apparitor was the officer of the ecclesiastical court of the Bishop, or his subordinate, the Archdeacon. This court dealt with sins of immorality, witchcraft, usury, simony, neglect of the sacraments, and withholding tithes or offerings, a list of offences taken from the beginning (D 1299-1320) of the tale about a wicked Summoner which Chaucer puts into the mouth of the Friar. The Archdeacon extorted fines by threats of excommunication, the fact of excommunication, when notified to a civil magistrate, procuring the offenders imprisonment (see below, l. 662). The Summoners made a living for themselves, over and above their lawful fees, by threatening to report people to the Archdeacon for real or imaginary offences, unless they were bought off. The Ellesmere MS. shows the Summoner in a blue jacket with scarlet pantaloons, whereas his official costume appears to have been of a tawny colour. He wears a garland and carries a cake as mentioned by Chaucer, and holds out a writ of summons in his hand.

624. **a fyr-reed cherubynnes face**, a face of a cherub as red as fire. Cherubs being usually depicted in red, 'cherubic' came to mean brilliant. So the author of the *Philobiblon* speaks of brightly illuminated books as "cherubici libri." The *New Eng. Dict.* quotes from Thynne's *Pride and Lowliness* (c. 1570), "A Vintener, His face was redd as any Cherubyn." Cherubin, or rather Cherubim, is a Hebrew plural, but both forms were commonly used as singulars.

646. **Questio quid juris.** The question is what [section] of the law applies to this case. ["This kind of question occurs frequently

in Ralph de Hengham. After having stated a case, he adds, *Quid juris?* and then proceeds to give an answer to it." See Heng. Mag. c. xi. "Esto autem quod reus nullo modo venerit ad hunc diem: quid juris?" etc. Tyrwhitt.]

647. **a gentil harlot.** 'Harlot' is found used as a masculine early in the 13th century, as a feminine not till the 15th. It seems to have been most frequently applied to travelling jugglers, but is used generally for vagabond, or rascal.

652. **a fynch eek koude he pulle,** plunder a foolish fellow. Cp. the modern phrase, to 'pluck a pigeon.' No other use of 'finch' in this sense is quoted.

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658. **'Purs is the Ercedekenes helle,' seyde he.** Zupitza would apparently scan 'Purs is|th' Ercedek|enes hel|lé sey|de he'—a very ugly rhythm. But Ten Brink quotes this line, and with it 655, as instances of 'the' remaining unelided before a following vowel. Thus, we may treat both 'helle' and 'seyde' as monosyllables and read 'Purs is|the Erc|edek|enes helle|seyde he.'

661. **For curs wol slee,—right as assoillyng savith.** Chaucer was no rebel against the religious doctrines of his day, but it is impossible not to believe (what is indicated here by the dash) that he was quite aware that the second half of this line rather diminishes than increases the force of the first. Wyclif openly taught that unrighteous excommunications should be disregarded. Absolution is of no effect unless the penitent is truly contrite. In saying that excommunication is as effective as absolution Chaucer left it open to his readers to think that under certain circumstances neither the one nor the other was of much weight.

662. **a Significavit**: the writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, commonly called a *Significavit* from the beginning of the writ, which is as follows: "Rex Vicecomiti . . . salutem. Significavit nobis venerabilis pater . . . Episcopus," etc. (Tyrwhitt).

The purport of the writ was that the Bishop had signified to the King (*i.e.* the civil authorities) that a man had remained obstinate after being excommunicated for forty days, and he was therefore forthwith to be put in prison till he made submission.

Ten Brink says that "*significavit* must be pronounced synficavit" (so Liddell). But no one who understands the genius of English rhythm need find any difficulty in keeping the ordinary pronunciation, making 'him' a redundant syllable before the cæsura: "And al|so war him | of a | Signif|icav|it."

663. **In daunger hadde he**, etc., under his jurisdiction, in his power to harm. [Cp. *Merchant of Venice*, IV. i. 180, "You stand within his danger, do you not?" and Tyrwhitt's quotation from a History of the Abbey of Pipwell: "Nec audebant Abbates eidem resistere, quia aut pro denariis aut pro bladis semper fuerunt abbates in dangerio dicti officialis."]

at his owene gise, to make them follow his own devices.

667. **As greet as it were for an ale-stake.** A pole projecting from a house, with a garland, or bunch of foliage, on it, was the usual sign of a tavern, whence the proverb, "good wine needs no bush." [A contemporary picture of an ale-house with its ale-stake will be found in Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life*, p. 132. By an Act of Parliament of 1375 it was forbidden to make the poles extend more than seven feet over the public way.]

THE PARDONER.

A Pardoner was a trafficker in papal pardons or indulgences. In the early Church a penitent as a condition of receiving absolution would have to fast (*i.e.* abstain from meat), or do other penance, for so many days, according to the gravity of his sin. Later on, a payment of money to an approved charitable purpose was accepted as an equivalent for so many days' penance, and a certificate of such payment was called a pardon or indulgence. The indulgence was a remission of ecclesiastical penance, not a remission of sins, but its true character was easily obscured, and a theory of a 'treasury' of superabounding merits of the Virgin and saints 'promulgated by Pope Clement V. in 1350' introduced new confusion. In order to raise money for building or repairing a church or other good object, men were sent all over Europe offering indulgences to all who contributed a certain sum. Moreover these authorized alms-gatherers were outrivalled by irregular ones, who, having obtained, or forged, a license from a Pope or Bishop, exhibited relics, to the veneration of which, so they pretended, special indulgences had been attached in the case of those offering money for the privilege. Popes, Bishops, and Kings

all tried at various times to suppress these irregular Pardoners, but the traffic in both authorized and unauthorized indulgences went on till the Reformation. An indulgence to those contributing to the war against the Turks was the earliest dated printed document (1454). One in 1517, issued by Leo X., to raise funds for the completion of S. Peter's at Rome, provoked Luther's revolt.

"The Ellesmere Manuscript shows the long yellow hair, spread in parted locks upon the Pardoner's shoulders, his surcoat of scarlet trimmed with white, and his scarlet cap with the *vernicle* in front. His stockings are blue. In his hand he carries the cross of laton, a kind of brass or mixed metal, coloured at the points, yellow, red, and blue. The white lambskin wallet, bearing such precious relics, rests on the horse's back, and is carefully guarded by strings, which the Pardoner has hung round his neck" (Saunders, *op. cit.*).

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670. **Of Rouncivale.** The following quotation from an article "On Pardons and Indulgences in England," by Mr. Christopher Wordsworth (*Guardian*, 23rd October, 1901) is too good to be abridged, but Chaucer students are only concerned with the first sentence: "Chaucer's Pardoner was of 'Rouncival'—*i.e.* the hospital of St. Mary, Rounceval, in Charing, on what was afterwards (1614) the site of Northumberland House, where the prior of Rouncevall (de Roscida Valle) in Navarre, and diocese of Pampelon,

had property granted by the Earl of Pembroke. Suppressed as an alien priory by King Henry V., it was restored for a fraternity in 1475. In 1226 Archbishop Gray issued an indulgence for Roncevaux, and in 1391 Bishop Arundell of Ely gave one for Rouncevall Hospital (fo. 177), and in 1393 another for 'Hospitale de Rouncevall, Pampilion diocese,' *and* for constructing a branch of it *at Charing-cross* (*Reg.* fo. 181; *cf.* Dugd. *Monast.* vi. 677). There was also a Runcival Hall in St. John's parish, Oxford, 'ruinated' before 1424 (Wood's *City*, I., 180)."

671. **That streight was comen fro the court of Rome.** This would be the Pardoner's own story, and may or may not have been true. John Heywood, who borrowed freely from Chaucer in the play *The Pardoner and the Frere*, which he wrote in the reign of Henry VIII., makes his Pardoner say in his opening address:

"But first ye shall knowe well that I com fro Rome,
Lo here my bulles, all and some,"

and speak of

"this blessed pardon
Which is the greatest under the son,
Graunted by the pope in his bulles under lede."

Notice that Rome is dissyllabic, rhyming with 'to me.'

672. **Com hider, love, to me.** The opening words or refrain of some popular song. Dr. Skeat writes "It is quoted again in l. 763 of the poem called *The Pearl* in the form—'Come hyder to me, my lemman swete'"; but such invitations are too common in lyric verse for it to be safe to assume that the quotations are from the same poem.

673. **a stif burdoun**: a strong bass accompaniment, the 'burdoun' (O. Fr. *bourdon*) being the low undersong or accompaniment, which was sung while the leading voice sang a melody. The word is here already confused with 'burden,' with which it has etymologically no connection, the notion apparently being that the bass or undersong was 'heavier' than the air. From the accompaniment going on when the singer of the air pauses, 'burden' got its meaning of refrain or chorus. [Abridged from articles "Bourdon" and "Burden" in *New Eng. Dict.*]

677. **his lokkes that he hadde**: 'that he hadde' suggests fewness.

682. **Hym thoughte.** 'Thoughte' here is not from 'thenchen' (O.E. *thencan*, 'think'), but from 'thünchen' (O.E. *thyncan*, 'seem'): it seemed to him, him seemed. This impersonal use survives in the phrase 'methinks.'

of the newe jet: of the latest fashion. [The *New Eng. Dict.* cites Robert Mannyng's *Chronicle*:

"After Sysilly com Glegabret
A syngere of the beste get,"

and Skelton's *Magnificence*:

"What! would ye wyves counterfet,
The courtly gyse of the newe jet."]

685. **A vernycle hadde he sowed upon his cappe.** A 'vernicle' is "a diminutive of Veronike (Veronica), a copy in miniature of the picture of Christ, which is supposed to have been miraculously impressed upon a handkerchief preserved in the Church of St. Peter at Rome" (Tyrwhitt). [A full account of S. Veronica, with an illustration from a picture by Memlinc is given in Mrs. Arthur Bell's *The Saints in Christian Art* (Vol. I., pp. 163-168). Mrs. Bell writes: "As the fainting Saviour toiled along the Via Dolorosa on his way to Calvary, a woman, touched with compassion for His sufferings, pushed her way through the Roman guards and offered Him the white veil she was wearing on her head with which to wipe His face. The Master accepted it, and as a recompense left the impress of His face upon the soft material, and it being folded in three it received three distinct reproductions of the Divine features. In course of time it passed into the custody of the Holy See, and was long kept in a beautiful arborium in a chapel dedicated to it at St. Peter's, for which, in the twelfth century, Pope Celestine had fine bronze gates cast. At intervals the 'Holy Face,' as the impression came to be called, was exhibited to the people." Thus a miniature of the pictured veil came to be one of the customary tokens of having made a pilgrimage to Rome. Cp. Langland's *Piers Plowman* (B. v. 529-531):

> "[He bare] many a cruche on his cloke and keyes of Rome,
> And the vernicle before, for men shulde knowe
> And se bi his signes whom he soughte hadde."

Dr. Skeat writes in his note on this line: "The legend was invented to explain the name. First the name of Bernice, taken from the Acts, was assigned to the woman who was cured by Christ of an issue of blood. Next Bernice, otherwise Veronica, was (wrongly) explained as meaning *vera icon* (*i.e.* true likeness), which was assigned as the name of a handkerchief on which the features of Christ were miraculously impressed."]

691. **fro Berwyk unto Ware.** Ware is mentioned here in contrast to Berwick probably as the first town of any importance on the road from London to the north. [Hertfort had previously held this position, by virtue of its Bailiff keeping the keys of the Bridge across the Lee at Ware and so diverting the traffic. But in the reign of Henry III. Ware was freed from this tyranny and "by this means," Chauncy writes (*Antiquities of Hertfortshire*, Vol. I. p. 203), "the great Road was turned from Hertfort through this town," which greatly throve in consequence.]

694. **For in his male he hadde,** etc. Lists of such mock relics are common with medieval satirists. In the excellent account of pardoners in Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages* he quotes not only from Chaucer, but from Boccaccio, Heywood, and Rabelais. Among Heywood's relics are the jawbone of All Saints and the brain-pan of St. Michael.

695. **lady,** the old feminine genitive. Cp. St. Mary Cray, as contrasted with the neighbouring Foot's Cray, which shows that 'Mary' is a genitive.

699. **ful of stones,** closely studded with (more or less) precious stones.

701. **whan that he fond A poure person dwellynge upon lond,** etc. M. Jusserand (*op. cit.*) translates from a Bull issued by Urban V., in 1369, against the pardoners employed by the Hospital of S. John of Jerusalem in England: "Very often, also, when they mean to hurt a rector, or his curate, they go to his church on some feast-day, especially at such time as the people are accustomed to come and make their offerings. They begin then to make their collections and continue until such an hour as it is not possible to celebrate mass conveniently that day. Thus they manage perversely to deprive these rectors and vicars of the offerings which accrue to them at such masses." Pardoners and friars were alike hated by the parish priests. Heywood makes the parson summon a constable (Neighbour Pratt) to help him turn both his visitors out of church, an attempt in which they are only partly successful.

702. **upon lond:** we should now say 'down in the country.'

703. **Upon a day,** on one day.

706. **made the person and the peple his apes:** fooled them. [A different turn is given to the phrase in the talk before the *Prioress's Tale*: "The monk put in the mannes hood an ape," imitated by Spenser, *Faery Queen*, III. ix. 31: "Thus was the ape by their faire handling put into Malbeccoes cape." See *New Eng. Dict.*]

708. **He was in chirche a noble ecclesiaste.** Cp. the account the Pardoner gives of his procedure in the Prologue to his Tale (C 329 *sqq.*):

> "'Lordynges,' quod he, 'in chirches whan I preche,
> I peyne me to han an hauteyn speche,
> And rynge it out as round as gooth a belle,
> For I kan al by rote that I telle.
> My theme is alwey oon and evere was
> *Radix malorum est cupiditas.*[1]
> First, I pronounce whennes that I come,
> And thanne my bulles shewe I alle and some;
> Our lige lordes seele on my patente,
> That shewe I first, my body to warente,
> That no man be so boold, ne preest, ne clerk,
> Me to destourbe of Cristes hooly werk;
> And after that thanne telle I forth my tales,
> Bulles of popes and of cardynales,

[1] Covetousness is the root of evils. The *Pardoner's Tale*, a version of the old story of Death and the three Rioters, is actually on this theme.

Of patriarkes and bishoppes I shewe,
And in Latyn I speke a wordes fewe
To saffron with my predicacioun,
And for to sa[illegible]re hem to devocioun;
Thanne shewe I forth my longe cristal stones
Y-crammed ful of cloutes and of bones,—
Relikes been they, as wenen they echoon.
. . . . . .

By this gaude have I wonne, yeer by yeer,
An hundred mark, sith I was Pardoner.
I stonde lyk a clerk in my pulpet,
And whan the lewed peple is doun y-set,
I preche so as ye han herde bifoore,
And telle an hundred false japes moore;
Thanne peyne I me to strecche forth the nekke,
And est and west upon the peple I bekke,
As dooth a dowve, sittyng on a berne;
Myne handes and my tonge goon so yerne,
That it is joye to se my bisynesse.
Of avarice and of swich cursednesse
Is al my prechyng, for to make hem free,
To give hir pens, and namely unto me.' "

Though neither a priest nor a deacon the Pardoner was probably a clerk in minor orders, and in church would wear a surplice and sit in the choir.

709. **Wel koude he rede a lessoun or a storie.** The 'lesson' would be, as now in the English Church, a reading from the Bible, the 'storie' or 'historia' the life of a saint from the *Golden Legend* or similar collection.

710. **he song an offertorie.** In the Mass according to the usage of the diocese of Salisbury (Sarum), which gradually spread over the greater part of England, an anthem called an offertory (offertorium) was sung during the collection of the offerings of the people. [There is a sarcastic allusion to this in the *Homily against Peril of Idolatry*, Part III.: "And while we offer (that we should not be weary or repent us of our cost), the music and minstrelsy goeth merrily all the offertory time."] Such 'offertory sentences' are still sung in the Communion Service of the Church of England.

711. **whan that song was songe, He moste preche.** In the use of Sarum, as now in the English Communion Service, the sermon came between the creed and the offertory, but some variation was permitted on this point. Moreover, the Sarum use was adopted in London only in the fifteenth century. Where the sermon came in the old London use we do not know. It is clear that though the offertory was sung before the Pardoner's sermon, the offerings were made after it.

714. **the murierly.** Ten Brink speaks of -ly being occasionally added to the comparative of the adjective to make that of the adverb, and Professor Liddell speaks of 'a few' such forms being found. But neither scholar quotes any other instance. The unusual form has caused the Petworth group of manuscripts to read 'so merily.'

721. **How that we baren us.** Cp. ll. 87, 796.

726. **narette it nat my vileynye.** Ne arette, do not account it as my ill-breeding. 'Arette' is also used with a preposition (to or upon) in the sense of impute to. So Wyclif: "It was aretted to him into rightwysnesse" (it was imputed unto him for righteousness), and Caxton: "If they fynde ony faulte to arette it to Socrates and not to me" (*New English Dictionary*).

729. **proprely,** with individual correctness, just as each man spoke.

730, 731. Note the uses of 'also,' 'shall,' 'after.'

734. **Al speke he:** 'he' may refer either to the original speaker or his reporter. The former is the more probable. So in l. 737, "althogh he were his brother," 'he' is clearly the original speaker, otherwise for 'were' we should have to read 'be,' the past tense being caused by going back in thought to the original speech.

741. **Eek Plato seith.** As Tyrwhitt noted, this saying is quoted again (H 207-10):

> "The wise Plato seith, as ye may rede,
> The word moot nede accorde with the dede.
> If men shal telle proprely a thyng,
> The word moot cosyn be to the werkyng."

Chaucer, no doubt, took it from Boethius, Bk. III., Prose 12, which he translates, "Thou hast lernyd by the sentence of Plato that the wordis moot nedes be cosynes to the thynges of whiche thei speken." [Boethius alluded to Plato's *Timaeus*, 29 B: "*ὧδε οὖν περί τε εἰκόνος καὶ περὶ τοῦ παραδείγματος αὐτῆς διοριστέον, ὡς ἄρα τοὺς λόγους, ὥνπέρ εἰσιν ἐξηγηταί, τούτων αὐτῶν καὶ ξυγγενεῖς ὄντας.*"]

whoso that kan hym rede. An allusion to the lack of Greek scholars in England since the death of Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon. In Italy Petrarch and Boccaccio were studying Greek when Chaucer was a boy, and the first Greek professorship was founded at Florence in 1396. But it was not till about a century later that the study revived in England.

744. **Al have I nat set folk in hir degree:** the due order of precedence was very carefully observed in Chaucer's days. Compare what he says of the Wife of Bath, ll. 449-52. Perhaps in his apology, "My wit is short, ye may wel understonde," he is laughing at the importance attached to it.

750. **leste,** a Kentish form, for Chaucer's more usual 'list.'

751. **Oure Hooste**: see Introduction.

754. **A fairer burgeys is ther noon in Chepe**: 'the Chepe,' whose name is preserved in 'Cheapside,' was the great market-place of London. To understand the full force of the line we must remember that in 1327 the City of London had obtained a charter from Edward III. giving it authority over Southwark, on the ground that the latter was a harbour for rogues. Southwark regained its freedom a few years later and kept it until 1550, when it was once more placed under the City of London. But though it was independent of the city in Chaucer's days it was a very inferior place, and to say of one of its inhabitants that he was as good as any citizen in Cheapside was a high compliment.

761. **lordynges**, my masters, gentlemen. Used only in addressing a company.

763. **if that I shal nat lye**: 'if I am to speak truth,' or 'sooth to say.'

767. **I am ... bythoght**, I have thought of.

772. **Ye shapen yow to talen and to pleye**: you are preparing to tell stories and jest. See Introduction.

777. **you liketh alle**: 'liketh' is impersonal, 'you,' dative.

781. **Now, by my fader soule, that is deed**: 'fader' is here the uninflected genitive, as in B 1178; cp. 'fader kin' (C 3121), 'fader day' (E 1136). Save in such common phrases Chaucer uses 'faders' or 'fadres,' as in E 809, "Retourneth to your faders hous, quod he."

783. **Hoold up youre hond**: probably another proverbial phrase, and so influenced by the old plural form 'honde,' cp. B 606, "For which ful ofte he weep and wrong his hond." Chaucer's usual form is 'hondes,' as in G 189, "Urban for joye his hondes gan up holde." But after all 'hond' may here be singular, for each man would only hold up one hand.

784. **Oure conseil was nat longe for to seche**: our resolution did not take long to arrive at. From implying absence, as here, 'to seek' came to suggest non-existence, as in G 874, of success in alchemy, "I warne yow wel, it is to seken ever."

785. **Us thoughte it was noght worth to mak it wys**: it seemed to us (cp. 682) not worth while to treat the matter seriously. 'Wys,' denotes worldly wisdom, as in the 'war and wys' applied to the Sergeant of Law. For the phrase 'make it wys,' cp. A 3980, "And strange he made it of hir mariage," *i.e.* he was stand-off-like about her marriage, and *Boke of Duchesse*, 531, "He made it neither tough ne queynte," he was neither obstinate nor affected about it.

810. **and oure othes swore**: *i.e.* and *we* swore our oaths and prayed him, etc. It is too frequent a practice with our author

to omit the governing pronoun before his verbs. See below, B 621-23:

"But nathelees, ther was gret moornyng
Among the peple, and seyn they kan nat gesse
That she had doon so gret a wikkednese."

Where 'and seyn' is for 'and they seyn.' (Adapted from Tyrwhitt.)

815. **And sette a soper at a certeyn pris**: *i.e.* a festival supper on their return, at which the teller of the best story would be the guest and the other pilgrims pay their own reckonings and his as well. The fact that it was to be a special entertainment explains the arrangement as to cost, without obliging us to suppose with Professor Corson that the bills mentioned in l. 760 had been too high.

817. **In heigh and lough**: it would seem enough to explain high and low as equivalent to "in things both great and small," *i.e.* in all respects, but Tyrwhitt assures us that 'de alto et basso' and 'haut et bas' are respectively medieval Latin and French expressions "of entire submission on one side and sovereignty on the other."

823. **oure aller cok**, the cock, or waker, of us all.

825. **a litel moore than paas**: *i.e.* at rather more than a walking pace, cp. A 2897, of the procession at the funeral of Arcite:

"And riden forth a paas with sorweful cheere,"

and *Troilus*, ii. 626-7:

"And wounded was his hors, and gan to blede,
On whiche he rood a pas, ful softely,"

quotations which prove the existence of this sense. On the other hand, in 1535, in Coverdale's version of the Bible 'apace' has undoubtedly its modern meaning 'quickly.'

826. **Unto the waterynge of Seint Thomas**: a brook near the second milestone on the Canterbury Road, where pilgrims watered their horses. In Tudor times, and perhaps earlier, Surrey criminals were hanged there as Middlesex ones at Tyburn. "In Carey's Map of 15 miles round London, so late as 1786, we have at the two milestone the Kent Road *Watering's Bridge*, a remnant of the old name" (Nares' *Glossary*, under the heading 'Watering,' St. Thomas à).

829. **I it yow recorde**: Dr. Liddell follows MSS. E. Hn. and Camb. in omitting 'I,' but the ellipse is more awkward than in l. 810.

830. **If even-song and morwe-song accorde**: if you will sing the same tune in the morning as you sang overnight.

838 etc. **draweth** ... **cometh** ... **studieth**: polite plural imperatives. Harry Baily is represented as very careful in using these in talking to the pilgrims of good position or special worth, but to the Pardoner, the Monk, the Nun's Priest, etc., he uses the unceremonious singular, and the poet is himself addressed in the same way: "'What man artow,' quod he," etc. (B 1885 *sqq.*).

841. **Ne studieth noght.** We are told of the Clerk (l. 304) "noght o word spak he moore than was neede," and so the Host took it for granted that he was always working out some philosophical problem : cp. E 1-5 :

" 'Sire Clerk of Oxenford,' our Hoste sayde,
'Ye ryde as coy and stille as doth a mayde,
Were newe spoused, sittyng at the bord ;
This day ne herd I of youre tonge a word.
I trowe ye studie aboute som sophyme ;
But Salomon seith every thyng hath tyme.
For Goddes sake ! as beth of bettre cheere !
It is no tyme for to studien heere.' "

It was said of S. Thomas Aquinas that 'once when dining with the King of France' he fell into such a study, and woke from it only to strike his fist on the table and cry "They could never answer that," much to the King's delight.

844. **by aventure, or sort, or cas :** perhaps the three nearest equivalents we can propose for these words are 'luck, fate, and chance.'

GLOSSARY.

NOTE.—**y** *in the middle of a word is arranged as* **i.**

A, *card. num.* one, 703.
A, *prep.* on, in, 854.
able, *adj.* fit, apt, 167.
aboven, *prep.* above, 53.
accordaunt, *adi.* agreeable to, 37.
achaat, *sb.* buying, catering, 571 (O. Fr. *acat*, *achat*; cp. Fr. *acheter*).
achatours, *sb. pl.* buyers, caterers, 568 (O. Fr. *acatours*; cp. Fr. *acheteurs*).
acorded, 3 *s. pret.* was fitting, 243.
adrad, *p.p.* greatly afraid, 605 (from obs. inf. *andrædan*).
aferd, *p.p.* afraid, 628 (from obs. inf. *afæran*, to frighten).
affile, *v.* polish, 712 (O. Fr. *afiler*).
after, *prep.* according to, 347, 731.
agayn, *prep.* against, 66.
al, *adv.* although, 734.
alderbest, best of all, 710 (the prefix is the old genitive plural *aller*, *alra*; cp. *alderfirst*, *alderlevest*).
alestake, *sb.* pole bearing alehouse sign, 667.
algate, *adv.* every way, always, 571.
Algezir, *sb.* Algeciras, in Spain, 57.
alyght, *p.p.* alit, alighted, 722.
Alisaundre, *sb.* Alexandria, 51.
alle, *adj. pl.* all, 26.
aller, *gen. pl.* of all, 823.
als, *adv.* as, 170.
al-so, *adv.* just as, 730.
amblere, *sb.* easy paced horse, 469.
amorwe, *adv. phr.* amorrow, in the morning, or next morning, 822.
anlaas, *sb.* dagger, or two-edged knife worn at the girdle, 357 (cp. O. Welch *anglas*).
anon, *adv.* at once, 32 (O.E. *on áne*, in one).
apiked, *p.p.* trimmed, adorned, 365 (*a-* intensive, *pike*, *picken*, to pick out, to adorn).
aqueyntaunce, *sb.* acquaintance, 245.
areste, *v.* stop, 827.
arette, 2 *pl. pres.* account, repute, 726 (O. Fr. *areter*, Lat. *reputare*).
aryght, *adv.* exactly, 267.
arive, **aryve**, *sb.* arrival, disembarkation, 60 (reading of Harl. and Camb. MSS.).
armee, *sb.* an armed expedition by sea or land, 60 (reading of Ellesmere MS.; cp. Fr. *armée*, Sp. *armada*).

array, *sb.* attire, equipment, 73, 330.
arrerage, *sb.* the being in arrears, default, 602.
arwes *sb. pl.* arrows, 107.
ascendent, *sb.* the sign of the zodiac rising above the horizon, planetary influence, 417 (see note).
assente, *v.* agree to, 374.
assoiling, *sb.* absolving, absolution, 661 (O. Fr. *assoile*, Lat. *absolvere*).
astored, *p.p.* stored, provided, 609 (O. Fr. *estorer*, *estaurer*, Lat. *instaurare*).
atte, at the, 125.
Austin, *sb.* Augustine, 187.
avaunce, *v.* profit, 246 (O. Fr. *avancer*, Lat. *abanteare*; the form *advance* was introduced in the 16th century, as if from a Latin word beginning with the preposition *ad*).
avaunt, *sb.* boast, bold statement, 227 (O. Fr. *avanter*, late Lat. *vanitare*).
aventure, *sb.* adventure, chance, 844 (Fr. *aventure*, Lat. *adventura*, the *d* in which begins to re-appear in the English form towards the end of 15th century).
avys, *sb.* advice, deliberation (Fr. *avis*, Lat. *advisum*, the *d* restored at end of 15th century).
ay, *adv.* always, 63.

bacheler, *sb.* probationer for knighthood, 80 (Prov. *bacalar*, It. *baccalare*, Fr. *bachelier*; the ultimate derivation is doubtful).
bake, *p.p.*, baken, baked, 343.
balled, *adj.* bald, 198.
bar, 3 *s. pret.* bore, carried, kept up, 105, 673; **baren us**, 1 *pl. pret. refl.* behaved, 721
barres, *sb. pl.* cross-stripes, 329.
batailles, *sb. pl.* battles, 61.
bawdryk, *sb.* baldrick, belt, 116 (M. H. G. *balderich*, O. Fr. *baudrei*. Derivation unknown).
be, *p.p.* been, 60.
bedes, *sub. pl.* beads, 159 (O.E. *biddan*, to pray. See note).
been, *v.* to be, 140.
beggestere, *sb.* beggar woman, or perhaps 'rogue of a beggar,' 242.
Belmarye, *sb.* a Moorish kingdom in Africa, 57 (see note).
ben, *v.* to be, 141.
Beneit, *sb.* Benedict, 173.
benygne, *adj.* benign, 518.
berd, *sb.* beard, 332.
bet, *adv. comp.* better, 242.
beth, 3 *pl. pres.* be, are, 178.
bevere, *adj.* beaver, 272.
bifil, 3 *s. pret.* it befell, 19.
biforn, *prep.* before, 100.
bigynne, *v.* begin, 428.
bigonne, *p.p.* begun, 52.
bynne, *sb.* bin, crib, 593.
bisette, 3 *s. pret.* bestowed, employed, 279.
biside, *prep.* besides, near to, 445.
bismotered, *p.p.* bespattered, soiled, 76.
bit, 3 *s. pres.* biddeth, 187.
bythought, *p.p.* minded, 767.
bitwixe, *prep.* between, 277.
blake, *adj. pl.* black, 557.
blankmanger, *sb.* blanc-mange, minced chicken in white sauce, 387 (O. Fr. *blanc-manger*, white meat).
bokeler, *sb.* buckler, small round shield, 112 (O. Fr. *boucler*, Lat. *buccula*, a cheek or boss).
Boloigne, *sb.* Boulogne, 465.
boold, *adj.* bold, 458.
boote, *sb.* remedy, 424 (O.E. *bót*).
bootes, *sb. pl.* boots, 203, 273.

boras, *sb.* borax, 630 (Arabic, *bōraq*).
bord, *sb.* board, table, 52.
born, 3 *pret.* borne, comported, 87.
bracer, *sb.* arm-guard, 111 (O. Fr. *brasseüre*).
brawn, *sb.* muscle, 546.
breed, *sb.* bread, 341.
breeth, *sb.* breath, 5.
breem, *sb.* bream, a variety of carp, 350.
breke, *v.* break, 551.
bretful, *adj.* full to the brim, 687 (O.E. *brerd*, brim).
bretherhed, *sb.* brotherhood, 511.
brode, *adv.* broadly, unreservedly, 739.
brood, *adj.* broad, 549.
brustles, *sb. pl.* bristles, 556.
Burdeux-ward, the direction of Bordeaux, 397.
burdoun, *sb.* bass, undersong, 673 (O. Fr. *bourdon*).
burgeys, *sb.* burgess, 369.
but if, *conj.* unless, 351.

cam, 3 *s. pret.* came, 547.
carf, 3 *s. pret.* carved, 100.
carl, *sb.* churl, 545 (O. Norse, *karl*, a man).
carpe, *v.* chatter, 194 (O. Norse, *karpa*, to boast).
cas, *sb.* chance, 844; **caas**, *pl.* law-cases, 323 (Lat. *casus*).
catel, *sb.* chattels, stock, 373 (Lat. *capitale*, from *caput*, head).
ceint, *sb.* girdle, 329 (O. Fr. *ceint*, Lat. *cinctus*).
celle, *sb.* religious house, 172 (O. Fr. *celle*, Lat. *cella*).
ceruce, *sb.* ceruse, white lead, much used in ointments, 630 (Lat. *cerussa*).
chambres, *sb. pl.* chambers, rooms, 28.
chaped, *p.p.* capped, 366 (O. Fr. *chape*, Lat. *capa*, a hood).
chapelayne, *sb.* chaplain, 164.
chapman, *sb.* seller, 397 (O.E. *céap*, barter; cp. Ger. *Kaufmann*).
charge, *sb.* trust, keeping, 733.
chaunterie, *sb.* chantry, endowment for singing masses for the dead, 510.
cheere, *sb.* demeanour, 139, 728.
Chepe, *sb.* Cheapside, 754.
chevyssaunce, *sb.* money-lending, 281 (O. Fr. *chevisance*, from *chevir*, to achieve).
chiere, *sb.* cheer, entertainment, 747.
chiknes, *sb. pl.* chickens, 380.
chirche, *sb.* church, 460.
chivachie, *sb.* an expedition on horseback, 85 (O. Fr. *chevauchée*).
clause, 86. short sentence, 715.
clene, *adv.* cleanly, 133.
clepen, *v.* call, 643; 3 *pl. pres.* 620; **cleped**, *p.p.* 121.
clerk, *sb.* scholar, 285.
cloysterer, *sb.* monk, 259.
cloysterles, *adj.* out of the cloister, 179 (reading of Harleian MS.).
clooth-making, *sb.* cloth-making, 447.
cofre, *sb.* chest, coffer, 298.
colerik, *adj.* choleric, irascible, 587.
Coloigne, *sb.* Cologne, 466.
colpons, *sb. pl.* shreds, 679 (O. Fr. *colpon*, Mod. *coupon*).
compaignye, *sb.* company, 24, 461.
compeer, *sb.* equal, comrade, 670 (O. Fr. *comper*, Lat. *con+parem*).
composicion, *sb.* agreement, 848.
confort, *sb.* comfort, 773.
conseil, *sb.* counsel, 665.

cope, *sb.* top, 554 (O.E. *cop*; cp. Ger. *Kopf*).
cope, *sb.* cape, 260.
coppe, *sb.* cup, 134 (O.E. *cuppe*).
corage, heart, courage, 22.
corages, *pl.* hearts, 11 (O. Fr. *corage*).
cordial, *sb.* restorative, stimulant, 443.
cosyn, *sb.* cousin, 742.
coude, *pret.* knew, 327.
countour, *sb.* auditor, 359.
countrefete, *v. inf.* imitate, 139.
courtepy, *sb.* cape, 290 (Mid. Dutch, *korte*, short, *pie* woollen coat; cp. *pea*-jacket).
coverchiefs, *sb. pl.* kerchiefs, headcovers, 453 (Fr. *couvre-chef*).
covyne, *sb.* privy agreement, deceit, 604 (O. Fr. *covin*, Lat. *convenium*).
coy, *adj.* shy, 119 (Fr. *coi*, Lat. *quietus*).
cryke, *sb.* creek, 409.
Cristen, *adj.* Christian, 55.
Cristendom, *sb.* Christendom, 49.
Cristophere, *sb.* image of St. Christopher worn as an amulet, 115.
croys, *sb.* cross, 699.
croppes, *sb. pl.* crops, 7.
crulle, *adj. pl.* curly, 81 (cp. *curl*).
cure, *sb.* care, 303 (Lat. *cura*).
curteis, *adj.* courteous, 99.
cut, *sb.* lot, 835. (Derivation uncertain.)

dayerye, *sb.* dairy, 597 (M.E. *deye*, O.E. *dæge*, a female servant).
dayesye, *sb.* daisy, 332 (O.E. *dæges éage*).
daliaunce, *sb.* conversation, 211.
daunce, *sb.* dance, game, 476.
daunger, *sb.* dominion, power to injure, 663 (late Lat. *dominiarium*, lordship).
daungerous, *adj.* difficult, domineering, 517.
deed, *p.p.* dead, 145.
deef, *adj.* deaf, 446.
deel, *sb.* part, whit, 415 (O.E. *dǽl*).
deelen, *v.* deal, have to do with, 247 (O.E. *dǽlan*).
deyntee, *adj.* rare, precious, 168 (O. Fr. *dainté*, Lat. *dignitatem*, worthiness).
deys, *sb.* dais, 370 (O. Fr. *deis*).
delit, *sb.* pleasure, 335.
delyvere, *adj.* agile, active (lit. unencumbered), 84 (late Lat. *deliberare*, to deliver).
delve, *v.* dig, 536.
depe, *adv.* deeply, 129.
Dertemouthe, *sb.* Dartmouth, 389.
desdeyn, *sb.* disdain, 789.
despitous, *adj.* scornful, 516 (O. Fr. *despit*, Lat. *despectus*, lit. a looking down on).
desport, *sb.* diversion, mirth, 137 (O. Fr. *desport*, Lat. *disportare*).
dettelees, *adj.* debtless, out of debt, 582.
devys, 1 *s. pres.* devise, set forth, 34 (O. Fr. *deviser*, late Lat. *divisare*, to divide, so to mark in detail).
devys, *sb.* device, command, appointment, 816 (O. Fr. *devis*).
digne, *adj.* worthy, 141; haughty, repellent, 517 (Lat. *dignus*).
diocise, *sb.* diocese, 664.
dischevelee, *adj.* with hair loose, 683 (O. Fr. *deschevelé*, Lat. *discapillatus*, shorn).
dispence, *sb.* expenditure, 441 (Lat. *dispensare*).
doked, *p.p.* docked, cropped, 590.

dong, *sb.* dung, 530.
doomes, *sb. pl.* judgments, 323 (O.E. *dóm*).
doon, *v.* do, 78.
dormant, *adj.* (of a table) fixed; lit. sleeping, 35.
dorste, 3 *s. pret.* durst, 227.
doumb, *adj.* dumb, 774.
dresse, *v.* make ready, 106 (O. Fr. *dresser*, Lat. *directus*).
drogges, *sb. pl.* drugs, 426.
droghte, *sb.* drought, 2.
duszeyne, *sb.* dozen, 578.

ech, *adj.* each, 39.
echon, each one, 820.
eek, *adv.* also, 41, 56.
eyen, *sb. pl.* eyes, 152.
ellis, *adv.* else, otherwise, 735.
embrouded, *p.p.* embroidered, 89.
encombred, *p.p.* encumbered, 508.
endyte, *v.* write, compose, 95.
enoynt, *p.p.* anointed, 199.
ensample, *sb.* example, 505 (O. Fr. *essample*, Lat. *exemplum*).
entuned, *p.p.* attuned, 123.
envyned, *p.p.* supplied with wine, 342 (Fr. *enviné*).
ercedeken, *sb.* Archdeacon, 655.
erys, *sb. pl.* ears, 556.
erly, *adv.* early, 33.
erst, *adv.* before, 776.
eschaunge, *sb.* exchange, 278 (O. Fr. *eschange*).
esed, *p.p.* entertained, 29.
esy, *adj.* easy, 223.
estaat, *sb.* state, array, 203.
estatlich, *adj.* stately, 140.
evene, *adj.* average, 82.
everich, *pron.* each, 371.
everychon, *pron.* each one, 31.
everydel, *pron.* every whit, 368.

facultee, *sb.* faculty, profession, 244 (Fr. *faculté*, Lat. *facultatem*).
fair, a fair, a good one, 165.
faire, *adv.* fairly, 94.
faldyng, *sb.* coarse woollen cloth, 391.
falle, *p.p.* fallen, befallen, 324.
famulier, *adj.* familiar, 215 (O. Fr. *familier*, *famulier*, Lat. *familiaris*, *famulus*, a domestic servant).
farsed, *p.p.* stuffed, 233 (Lat. *farcire*).
fee symple, property held absolutely, as contrasted with fee-tail, used of entailed property, 319.
feyne, *v.* feign, invent, 736.
feith, *sb.* faith, belief, 62.
felawe, *sb.* fellow, 653 (O.E. *feolaga*, a layer down of money in a joint venture).
felaweship, *sb.* fellowship, 26, 32.
fer, *adj.* far, 388.
ferne, *adj. pl.* ancient, 14 (O.E. *fyrn*).
ferre, *adv. comp.* farther, 47.
ferrer, *adv. comp.* farther, 835.
ferreste, *adj. sup.* farthest, 494.
ferther, *adv.* further, 36.
ferthyng, *sb.* farthing, morsel, 134 (O.E. *feorthing*).
festne, *v.* fasten, 195 (O.E. *fæstnian*).
fet, *p.p.* fetched, 819 (O.E. *fetian*).
fetys, *adj.* featous, neat, graceful, 157 (O. Fr. *fetis*, Lat. *facticius*).
fetisly, *adv.* skilfully, neatly, 124, 273.
fil, 3 *s. pret.* fell, 845; **fille**, 3 *s. pret. subj.* 131.
fyr-reed, *adj.* as red as fire, 624.
fithele, *sb.* fiddle, 296.
flex, *sb.* flax, 676.
floytynge, *part. pres.* fluting, 91 (O. Fr. *fleüter*).
flour, *sb.* flower, 4 (O. Fr. *flour*, Lat. *florem*, *flos*).

folwed, 3 *s. pret.* followed, 528.
for-by, *adv.* by, past, 1715.
forgeve, *v.* forgive, 743.
forheed, *sb.* forehead, 154.
fornys, *sb.* furnace, 559 (O. Fr. *fornais*, Lat. *fornus*).
for-pyned, *p.p.* greatly pained, tormented, 205.
forster, *sb.* forester, 120.
fortunen, *v.* presage, 417.
forward, *sb.* agreement, 33 (O.E. *foreweard*, a security taken in advance).
fother, *sb.* cartload, 530.
foughten, *p.p.* fought, 62.
foweles, *sb. pl.* fowls, 9.
frankeleyns, *sb. pl.* franklins, freeholders, 216 (O.Fr. *frankeleyn*, Low Lat. *franchilanus*).
fraternitee, *sb.* brotherhood, 364.
fredom, *sb.* freedom, liberality, 46.
frere, *sb.* friar, 208.
ful, *adj.* full, 306; *adv.* fully, very, quite, 47, 52, 615.
fustian, *sb.* coarse cloth made of cotton and flax, 75 (O. Fr. *fustaine*, Low Lat. *fustaneum*; conjecturally derived from the name of a suburb of Cairo, where the cloth was manufactured, *N.E.D.*).

gadrede, 3 *s. pret.* gathered, 824.
Galice, *sb.* Galicia, in Spain, 466.
galyngale, *sb.* an aromatic root, in English, sweet cyperus root, used for spice, 381 (O. Fr. *galingal*, after Arab. *khaulinjan*, "said to be adapted from Chinese *Ko-liang-kiang*, lit. 'mild ginger from Ko,' a prefecture in the province of Canton," *N.E.D.*).
gamed, 3 *s. pret. impers.* pleased, 534 (O.E. *gaman*, joy, glee).
gan, 3 *s. pret.* began, did, used to, 301.
gat-toothed, *adj.* variously explained as goat-toothed, lascivious, or gate-toothed, having the teeth set wide apart, 468 (see note).
gauded, *p.p.* **gauded al with grene**, with the *gauds* or larger beads made of green, 159 (see note).
geere, *sb.* clothing, 365 (O.E. *gearwe*).
geldhalle, *sb.* guildhall, 370.
gerland, *sb.* garland, 666.
Gernade, *sb.* Granada, 56.
gerner, *sb.* garner, 393.
gesse, *pres. s.* guess, 82.
geten, *p.p.* got, 291.
gynglen, *v.* jingle, 170.
gypon, *sb.* short vest, 75 (O. Fr. *gipon*).
gipser, *sb.* pouch, 357 (Fr. *gibeciere*).
girles, *sb. pl.* youths, 664.
gise, *sb.* fashion, 663 (Fr. *guise*).
gobet, *sb.* shred, 696 (Fr. *gobet*).
goliardeys, *sb.* ribald, buffoon, 560 (O. Fr. *goliardois*, Med. Lat. *goliardus*).
good, *sb.* goods, property, 581.
goon, *v.* go, 12.
goost, *sb.* ghost, 205.
goot, *sb.* goat, 688.
Gootlond, *sb.* the isle of Gottland in the Baltic, 408.
greet, *adj.* great, 84.
grehoundes, *sb. pl.* greyhounds, 191.
Grete See, *sb.* the Mediterranean, 59.
gretteste, *ad. sup.* greatest, 120.
grys, *sb.* grey fur, 194.
grope, *v.* probe, try, 644.
ground, *sb.* foundation, texture, 453.

haberdasshere, *sb.* a dealer in small articles, especially hats and caps, 361.

habergeon, *sb.* a short coat of mail, 76 (a diminutive of *hauberc*, Old-High-Ger. *halsberk*, neck guard).
halwes, *sb. pl.* hallows, saints, shrines, 14 (O.E. *hálga*, a saint).
han, *v.* have, 752.
happe, *v.* happen, 585.
hardily, *adv.* assuredly, 156.
harlot, *sb.* rascal, 647.
harlotries, *sb. pl.* ribald jests, 561.
harneised, *p.p.* harnessed, equipped, 114.
harre, *sb.* hinge, 550 (O.E. *heorr*).
haunt, *sb.* practice, 447.
heed, *sb.* head, 198.
heeld, 3 *s. pret.* held, 176, 182.
heeng, 3 *s. pret.* hung, 676.
heer, *sb.* hair, 589.
heeth, *sb.* heath, 6.
heigh, *adj.* high, 522.
hem, *acc. pl.* them, 11; *dat. pl.* 31.
hente, *v.* get, 299; 3 *s. pret.* seized, 698.
herberwe, *sb.* harbour, inn, 403, 765 (from *here*, army; *beorg*, shelter).
herys, *sb. pl.* hairs, 555.
herkneth, 2 *pl. imperat.* hearken, 788.
hethən, *sb.* heathen, 66.
hethenesse, *sb.* heathen lands, 49.
heve, *v.* heave, 550.
hewe, *sb.* complexion, 394.
hider, *adv.* hither, 672.
hierde, *sb.* herdsman, 603 (O.E. *heorde*).
highte, 3 *s. pret.* was called, 616.
hyndreste, *adv.* hindermost, 622.
hyne, *sb.* servant, 603 (O.E. *hína*; the form *hind* occurs early in the 16th century, but Waller uses *hine* rhyming with *mine* as late as about 1650).
hipes, *sb. pl.* hips, 472.
hir, *poss. pron.* their, 11, 365; *gen. pers. pron.* of them, 586; *poss. pron.* her, 120.
holpen, *p.p.* helped, 18.
holt, *sb.* wood, 6.
holwe, *adj.* hollow, 289.
hond, *sb.* hand, 193.
hooly, *adj.* holy, 16 (O.E. *hálig*).
hooly, *adv.* wholly, 599.
hoom, *sb.* home, 512.
hoomly, *adv.* in a homely manner, 328.
hoot, *adj.* hot, 420.
hors, *sb. pl.* horses, 74.
hostelrye, *sb.* hostelry, inn, 23.
hostiller, *sb.* innkeeper, 241.
houres, *sb. pl.* (astrological) hours, 416.
housbandes, *sb. pl.* husbands, 460.

ilke, *adj.* same, 64 (O.E. *ilca*).
infect, *p.p.* invalidated, 320 (Lat. *infectus*).

janglere, *sb.* prater, 560 (O. Fr. *jangler*).
japes, *sb. pl.* tricks, 705. (Derivation uncertain.)
jet, *sb.* fashion, 682 (apparently from Fr. *jet*, a throw or cast).
jolitee, *sb.* jolliness, 680.
juste, *v.* joust, tourney, 96.

kan, *v.* know, be able, 371.
keepe, *sb.* heed, 398, 502.
kepere, *sb.* keeper, 172.
kepte, 3 *s. pret.* kept, observed, 415.
knarre, *sb.* a knotted or thick-set fellow, 549.
koude, 3 *s. pret.* knew, 94, 110.
kouthe, 3 *s. pret.* could, knew how, 390.
kowthe, *adj.* known, renowned, 14.

laas, *sb.* lace, cord, 392 (O. Fr. *las*).
lafte, *pret.* left, ceased, 492.
lakkede, 3 *s. pret. impers.* was lacking to, 756.
langage, *sb.* language, 211.
lat, *v.* let, 188.
late, *adv.* lately, 690.
latoun, *sb.* latten, a mixed metal like brass, 699 (O. Fr. *laton*).
lazar, *sb.* leper, 242 (from the name *Lazarus* in Luke xvi. 20).
leed, *sb.* leaden vessel, 202.
leet, *pret.* (i) let, 175; (ii) left, 508.
lene, *v.* lend, 611 (O.E. *lǣnan*; for the later addition of *d*, cp. *soun* and *sound*).
lenger, *adj. comp.* longer, 350.
lest, *sb.* lust, pleasure, 132 (said to be a Kentish form; O.E. *lyst*).
leste, 3 *s. pret.* it pleased, 750 (cp. *liste*).
Lettow, *sb.* Lithuania, 54.
letuaries, *sb. pl.* electuaries, remedies, 426 (O.Fr. *lettuaire*).
levere, *adv.* rather, 293 (O.E. *lēof*, dear).
lewdnesse, *sb.* stupidity, 502.
lewed, *adj.* ignorant, 502 (O.E. *lǣwed*).
licenciat, *sb.* holder of a licence, 220 (see note).
licour, *sb.* liquor, moisture, 3.
Lyeys, *sb.* Layas, now Ayas, in Armenia, 58.
lyf, *sb.* life, 71.
lyk, *adj.* like, 259.
lymytour, *sb.* a friar licensed to beg within certain limits, 209.
lipsed, 3 *s. pret.* lisped, 264.
liste, 3 *s. pret.* it pleased, 102 (cp. *leste*).
lystes, *sb. pl.* lists (spaces enclosed for combats), 63.
lytarge, *sb.* white lead, 629 (Fr. *litharge*).
lite, *adj.* little, unimportant, 494 (O.E. *lyt*).
lyveree, *sb.* livery, uniform of a guild, anything delivered or handed over (O. Fr. *livree*).
lodemenage, *sb.* pilotage, 403 O.E. *lād*, way).
lokkes, *sb. pl.* locks of hair, 81.
londes, *sb. pl.* lands, 14.
loore, *sb.* teaching, 527 (O.E. *lār*).
looth, *adj.* hateful to, 486.
lordynges, *sb.* sirs, 761.
lough, *adj.* low, 817.
lovedayes, *sb. pl.* days for settling disputes, 258 (see note).
lovyere, *sb.* lover, 80 (O.E. *lufian*).
luce, *sb.* pike, 350.
lust, *sb.* pleasure, 192 (O.E. *lust*).

maad, *p.p.* made, 394.
maistrie, *sb.* mastery, excellence, 165 (O. Fr. *maistrie*).
maistres, *sb.* masters, 576 (O.Fr. *maistre*, Lat. *magister*).
male, *sb.* mail bag, 694 (O. Fr. *male*).
maner, *sb.* manner (kind of), 71.
marchal, *sb.* marshal, master of ceremonies, 752 (O. Fr. *maréschal*, O.H.G. *mara-scalh*, lit., a horse-servant).
marchant, *sb.* merchant, 270.
marybones, *sb. pl.* marrow bones, 380 (O.E. *mearh*, marrow).
maunciple, *sb.* purveyor, 510 (O. Fr. *mancipe*).
Maure, *sb.* St. Maur, 173.
mede, *sb.* mead, meadow, 89.
medlee, *adj.* of mixed stuff, 328 (O. Fr. *medle*, *mesle*, from *mesler*, to mix).
meede, *sb.* meed, reward, 770.
mercenarie, *sb.* hireling, 514.

mere, *sb.* mare, 541.
meschief, *sb.* misfortune, 493.
mesurable, *adj.* temperate, 435.
mete, *sb.* meat, 127.
Middleburgh, Middelburg, in Holland, 277.
myrie, *adj.* merry, 757.
myscarie, *v.* go wrong, 513.
myster, *sb.* craft, 613 (O.Fr. *mester*, Lat. *ministerium*).
mo, *adj.* more, 576, 808.
moyste, *adj.* moist, 457.
***moote**, *pres.* must, may, 755.
mormal, *sb.* gangrene, 386 (O. Fr. *mal mort*, Lat. *malum mortuum*).
morne-milk, *sb.* morning-milk, 358.
mortreux, *sb.* a kind of stew, 384.
morne, *sb.* morrow, morning, 334.
morne-song, *sb.* morning song, 830.
mote, 1 *sing. pres. sub.* may, 832.
motteleye, *sb.* motley, 271 (O. Fr. *mattele*, spotted).
muche and lite, great and small, important and unimportant, 494.
muchel, *adj.* much, 132.
murye, *adj.* merry, 235.
murierly, *adv. comp.* more merrily, 714.
muwe, *sb.* cage, 349 (originally a cage where hawks were kept while moulting, O. Fr. *mue*, Lat. *mutare*, to change).

nacions, *sb. pl.* nations, 53.
namo, namoore, no more, 101, 98.
narette, ne arette, do not repute, or account, 726.
narwe, *adj.* narrow, 625.
nas, ne was, 251.
nathelees, *adv.* nevertheless, 35.
natureel, *adj.* natural, 415.
ne, *conj.* nor, 179.
neet, *sb.* cattle, 597 (O.E. *neát*).
ny, *adv.* nearly, 732.
nyghtertale, *sb.* night-time, 97 (O.N. *á náttar þeli*, in the middle of the night).
noght, *adv.* not, 107.
nones, nonys, for the nones, for then once, for the occasion, 545 (see note).
nonne, *sb.* nun, 118.
noon, *adj.* none, 773.
noot, ne woot, 284.
norrissyng, *sb.* nutritiousness, 437.
nosethirles, *sb. pl.* nostrils, 557 (O.E. *nosthyrl*, nose-hole).
not heed, *sb.* close cropped head, 109 (O.E. *hnot*, shorn).
nowthe, *adv.* now, 462.

O, *num. adj.* one, 304, 738.
of, *adv.* off, 782.
office, *sb.* secular employment, 292.
offrynge, *sb.* offertory, 450.
ofte, *adj. pl.* frequent, 485.
oynement, *sb.* ointment, 631 (O. Fr. *oignement*, an anointing).
oynons, *sb. pl.* onions, 634 (Fr. *oignon*, Lat. *unio*).
oystre, *sb.* oyster, 182.
oon, *num. adj.* one, 148.
ooth, *sb.* oath, 120.
ordres, *sb. pl.* religious orders, 210.
Orewelle, *sb.* Orwell, 277.
ounces, *sb. pl.* small pieces, 677.
outrely, *adv.* utterly, 237 (O. Fr. *oltre*, Lat. *ultra*).
outridere, *sb.* a monk appointed to ride out on the business of the monastry, 166.
over-al, *ad.* everywhere, generally, 547.
***overeste**, *adj.* uppermost, 270.

overspradde, *p.p.* spread over, covered, 678.
o-wher, *adv.* anywhere, 653.
Oxenford, *sb.* Oxford, 285.

paas, *sb.* (walking) pace, 825.
pace, 1 *pres.* pass, 36 v., 175.
Palatye, *sb.* Palathia, 65.
Pardee, Pardieu, By God, 563.
pardoner, *sb.* seller of 'pardons,' 543.
parfit, *adj.* perfect, 72 (O. Fr. *parfez*, Lat. *perfectus*).
parisshens, *sb. pl.* parishioners, 482 (Fr. *paroissiens*).
parvys, *sb.* church porch, 310 (see note).
passed, 3 *s. pret.* surpassed, 315.
pees, *sb.* peace, 532.
peyned, 3 *s. pret.* pained, troubled, 139.
peire, *sb.* pair, set, 159.
perced, 3 *s. pret.* pierced, 2.
pers, *adj.* blue, 439.
persoun, *sb.* parson, rector, 478 (O. Fr. *persone*, Lat. *persona*).
philosophre, *sb.* philosopher, especially an alchemist or magician (as in the 'Franklin's Tale,' l. 833), 297.
piled, *adj.* plucked, scanty, 67 (Lat. *pilare*, to strip the hair off).
pilwe-beer, *sb.* pillow-case, 694 (*pilwe*, from Lat. *pulvinus*; *beer*, cp. O.E. *bær*, mod. *bier*).
pynchen, *v.* cavil at, find fault with, 326; **pynched**, *p.p.* plaited, 151.
pitaunce, *sb.* portion of food, 224. (Derivation uncertain. The word is of monastic origin, and was thought to be connected with the Latin *pietas*, i.e. a portion of food given for the sake of pity. It was especially applied to the daintier food given to monks when in the infirmary.)
pitous, *adj.* pitiful, 143.
pleyen, *v.* play, jest, 758.
pleyn, *adv.* fully, 327.
pocock, *sb.* peacock, 104.
poynaunt, *adj.* pungent, 352.
poynt, *sb.* in good poynt, in good condition, 200.
pomely, *adj.* dappled, with spots the size of apples, 616 (O. Fr. *pomele*, from *pomme*, apple).
poraille, *sb.* poor folk, 249 (O. Fr. *povraille*).
port, *sb.* bearing, demeanour, 69.
poudre-marchant, *sb.* flavouring powder, 381. (The termination *marchant* is said to mean "much traded, much used, very common.")
poure, *v.* pore, 185.
praktisour, *sb.* practitioner, 432
prest, *sb.* priest, 503 (O.E. *prēost*, Lat. *presbyter*).
prikasour, *sb.* hard rider, 189.
pricketh, 3 *s. pres.* pricks, incites, 11.
priking, *v. sb.* spurring, 191.
pris, prys, *sb.* prize, price, 237, 815.
propre, *adj.* proper, own, 581.
Pruce, *sb.* Prussia, 53.
pulle, *v.* pluck, 652.
pulled, *p.p.* 177.
pultrye, *sb.* poultry, 598.
purchas, *sb.* earnings, 256 (O. Fr. *pourchas*).
purchasour, *sb.* purchaser, 319 (see note).
purtreye, *v.* draw, 96.

quite, 3 *s. pres. subj.* pay, 770.

raughte, 3 *s. pret.* reached, 136.
reccheless, *adj.* careless, 179 (reading of Ellesmere MS.: O.E. *rēcceleás*).
reed, *sb.* advice, adviser, 665 (O.E. *rād*).
reede, *adj.* red, 90.

reyn, *sb.* rain, 595.
reysed, 3 *s. pret.* raided, 54 (cp. Ger. *reise*, a journey).
rekene, *v.* reckon, 401.
remenaunt, *sb.* remnant, remainder, 724.
rennyng, *ob. sb.* running, 551.
reportour, *sb.* reporter, 814.
resons, *sb. pl.* reasons, opinions, 274 (O. Fr. *reison*, Lat. *rationem*).
reule, *sb.* rule, 173.
reve, *sb.* reeve, steward, 542 (O.E. *geréfa*).
roialliche, *adv.* royally, 378.
rood, 3 *s. pret.* rode, 169.
roos, 3 *s. pret.* rose, 823.
rote, *sb.* a small harp, 236, 327.
rouncy, *sb.* hack, nag, 390 (O. Fr. *roncin*).
Ruce, *sb.* Russia, 54.
rudeliche, *adv.* rudely, 734.
ryde, *v.* ride, 27.
ryse, *v.* rise, 33.

sangwyn, *adj.* blood red, 439 (Lat. *sanguineus*).
Satalie, *sb.* Attalia, 58.
saugh, 1 *s. pret.* saw, 764.
sautrie, *sb.* psaltery, small harp, 296.
sawcefleem, *adj.* pimpled, 625 (the consequence of *salsum phlegma*, or salt phlegm).
scaled, *p.p.* scabbed, scurfy, 627 (O.N. *skalli*, skull).
scarsly, *adv.* thriftily, 583.
scathe, *sb.* harm, misfortune, 446.
sclendre, *adj.* slender, 587.
scole, *sb.* school, 125.
scoleye, *v.* attend school, 302.
seche, *v.* seek, 784.
seeke, *adj. pl.* sick, 18.
seyd, *p.p.* said, 305.
seigh, *pret.* saw, 192.
seyl, *sb.* sail, 696.
seyn, *v.* to say, 181.
seke, seken, *v.* seek, 17, 510.
semely, *adj.* seemly, good-looking, 751.
semycope, *sb.* short cloak, 262.
semyly, *adv.* becomingly, 151.
sendal, *sb.* fine silk, 440 (O. Fr. *cendal, sendal*).
sentence, *sb.* meaning, 306 (Lat. *sententia*).
servysable, *adj.* ready to serve, 99.
seson, *sb.* season, 19.
sesons, *sb. pl.* seasons, 347.
sette, 3 *s. pret.* set; sette to hire, hired out, 507.
sette ... cappe, befool, 586 (see note).
shal, 3 *s. pres.* is given as a task to, must, 731.
shamefastnesse, *sb.* modesty, 840.
shapen, *pl. pres.* prepare, 772.
shaply, *adj.* well-suited, 372.
sheeldes, *sb. pl.* French crowns, 278.
sheene, *adj.* beautiful, 166 (O.E. *scēone*).
shyne, *sb.* shin, 386.
shirreve, *sb.* sheriff, 359 (O.E. *scīr-gerēfa*).
shiten, *p.p.* befouled, 504.
sho, *sb.* shoe, 253.
shoon, 3 *s. pret.* shone, 198.
shorte, *v.* shorten, 791.
shoures, *sb. pl.* showers, 1.
shuldres, *sb. pl.* shoulders, 678.
sike, *adj.* sick, 243.
sikerly, *adv.* assuredly, 137 (Lat. *securus*).
syn, *conj.* since, 601.
slee, *v.* slay, 661.
sleep, 3 *s. pret.* slept, 98.
sleighte, *sb.* deceit, 604.
smale, *adj. pl.* small, 146.
smerte, *adv.* smartly, 149.
smerte, 3 *s. pret. sub. impers.* smarted, hurt, 534.
smyteth, 2 *pl. imper.* smite, 782.
smoot, 3 *s. pret.* smote, 149.

snewed, 3 *s. pret.* snowed, abounded, 345.
snybben, *v.* snub, reprove, 523.
solaas, *sb.* solace, 798.
solempne, *adj.* stately, important, 209 (see note).
solempnely, *adv.* solemnly, pompously, 274.
som-del, *adv.* somewhat, 174.
somer, *sb.* summer, 394.
somonour, *sb.* summoner of offenders to the church courts, 623.
somtyme, *ad.* once on a time, 65.
sondry, *ad.* sundry, 14, 25.
sonne, *sb.* sun, 7.
soong, 3 *s. pret.* sang, 122.
soore, *adv.* sorely, 148.
soote, *adj. pl.* sweet, 1.
sooth, sothe, *sb.* truth, 284, 845.
soothly, *adv.* truly, 117.
sope, *sb.* sop, 334.
soper, *sb.* supper, 799.
sort, *sb.* lot, fate, 844 (Lat. *sors*).
souple, *adj.* supple, 203.
sovereyn, *adj.* sovereign, chief, 67 (Low Lat. *superanus*).
sowne, *v.* sound, play, 565.
sownynge, *pres. p.* tending to, 275.
space, *sb.* spare time, opportunity, 35.
spak, 3 *s. pret.* spoke, 304.
sparwe, *sb.* sparrow, 626.
spiced, *adj.* seasoned, with the natural flavour obscured, 526 (but see note).
spores, *sb. pl.* spurs, 473.
squier, *sb.* squire, 79.
staat, *sb.* state, condition, 716.
stemed, 3 *pl. pret.* shore, 202.
stepe, *adj.* bright, 201 (O.E. *stēap*).
sterres, *sb. pl.* stars, 208.
stywardes, *sb. pl.* stewards, 579 (O.E. *stiweard*, keeper of the sty).
stonde, *v.* stand, 745.
stoon, *sb.* stone, 774.
stoor, *sb.* farm stock, 598 (O. Fr. *estor*, Low Lat. *staurum*).
stot, *sb.* horse, cob, 615 (O.E. *stotte*).
straunge, *adj. pl.* strange, foreign, 13.
streit, *adj.* narrow, 174.
strem, *sb.* stream, 464.
strike, *sb.* hank, 676.
strondes, *sb. pl.* strands, countries, 13.
stuwe, *sb.* stew, fish pond, 350.
suffisaunce, *sb.* sufficiency, 490.
surcoat, *sb.* overcoat, 617.
swerd, *sb.* sword, 112.
swete, *adj.* sweet, 5.
swich, *adj.* such, 3.
swyn, *sb.* swine, 598.
swynk, *sb.* toil, 188 (O.E. *swinc*).
swynke, *v.* toil, 186 (O.E. *swincan*).
swynkere, *sb.* labourer, 531.

tabard, *sb.* a sleeveless coat, for a labourer, 541; for a herald, used as an inn sign, 20.
taffata, *sb.* fine silk, 440.
taille, *sb.* a tally, credit, 570 (O. Fr. *taille*).
takel, *sb.* tackle, 106.
talen, *v.* tell stories, 772.
tapycer, *sb.* carpet or tapestry maker, 241.
tappestere, *sb.* tapster, barmaid, 241.
targe, *sb.* small shield, 471.
tartre, *sb.* tartar, 630.
teche, *v.* teach, 308.
tellen, *v.* tell, 73.
temple, *sb.* inn of court, college of lawyers, 567.
tendre, *ad. pl.* tender, 7.
termes, *sb. pl. in termes*, in terms, precisely, 323.
thanne, *conj.* then, 12.
tharray, the array, 716.
thencrees, the increase, 275.

ther, *adv.* there, 34.
therto, *adv.* thereto, in addition, 153.
thilke, *adv.* that same, 182.
thynketh, 3 *s. pres.* it seems to, 37 (O.E. *thyncan*).
thyng, *sb.* make a thing, draw up a document, 325.
tho, *pron.* these, 498.
thombe, *sb.* thumb, 563.
thries, *adv.* thrice, 463.
til, *prep.* to, 180.
typet, *sb.* tippet, hood, 233.
toft, *sb.* tuft, 555.
tollen, *v.* take toll, 562.
tope, *sb.* crown of the head, 590.
Tramyssene, *sb.* Tremezen, in Africa, 62.
tretys, *adj.* well made, 152.
trewe, *adj.* true, 531.
trompe, *sb.* trumpet, 674.
trussed, *p.p.* packed, 681.
tukked, *p.p.* tucked up, 621.
tweye, *num.* two, 706.
twynne, 1 *pl. pres. sub.* depart, 835.

undergrowe, undergrown, 156.
undertake, 1 *s. pres.* assert, wager, 289.

vavasour, *sb.* landholder, 360 (O. Fr. *vavassour*, a sub-vassal or under-tenant).
veyne, *sb.* vein, 3.
venerie, *sb.* hunting, 166.
verdit, *sb.* verdict, 787.
vernicle, *sb.* a copy of S. Veronica's cloth, 685 (see note).
verray, *adj.* very, 72.
vertu, *sb.* virtue, beneficent power, 4.
viage, *sb.* voyage, journey, 723.
vigilies, *sb. pl.* wakes, 377.
vileynye, *sb.* anything unbecoming a gentleman, 70, 726.
vitaille, *sb.* victual, 248.
vouchesauf, vouchsafe, 807.

wayted, 3 *s. pret.* watched, 571.
wan, 3 *s. pret.* won, 442.
wantowne, *adj.* wanton, 208.
war, *adj.* wary, prudent, 609; aware, 157.
war, 3 *s. pres. subj.* let (him) beware of, 662.
wastel-breed, *sb.* bread made of fine flour, 147 (O. Fr. *wastel*, *gastel*, cp. *gâteau*).
webbe, *sb.* weaver, 362.
wey, *sb.* way, 34.
weyeden, 3 *pl. pret.* weighed, 454.
wert, *sb.* wart, 555.
wette, 3 *s. pret.* wetted, 129.
wex, *sb.* wax, 675.
whan, *adv.* when, 1.
what, *interg.* why, 184.
whelkes, *sb. pl.* swellings, pimples, 632 (diminutive of *whēle*, weal).
whiche, *pron.* of what kind, 40.
whilom, *adv.* formerly, 765 (dat. plur. of *hwīle*, while, time).
whit, *adj.* white, 332.
wydwe, *sb.* widow, 253.
wif, *sb.* wife, 445.
wight, *sb.* man, 280.
wympul, *sb.* wimple, a covering for the neck, 151.
wyn, *sb.* wine, 334.
wynne, *v.* win, gain, 427.
wiste, 3 *s. pret.* knew, reckoned, 224.
withouten, *prep.* besides, 461.
withseye, *v.* dispute, 805.
wol, 1 *s. pres.* will, 723.
wolde, *pret.* would, 954.
wolden, 3 *pl. pret.* would, 27.
wonderly, *adv.* wonderfully, 84.
wone, *sb.* custom, wont, 335 (O.E. *ge-wuna*).
wonynge, *pres. par.* living, 388 (O.E. *wunian*).
wonyng, *sb.* a dwelling, 606 (O.E. *wunung*, Ger. *Wohnung*).

wood, *adj.* mad, 184 (O.E. *wod*).
woot, 1 *s. pres.* know, 389.
wrighte, *sb.* workman, 614.

yaf, 3 *s. pret.* gave, 227.
ycleped, *p.p.* called, 376.
yeddynges, *sb. pl.* proverbial sayings, 257 (O.E. *geddung*).
yeldehalle, *sb.* guildhall, 370.
yeldynge, *v. sb.* crop, 596.
yeman, *sb.* yeoman, 101.
yemanly, *adv.* yeomanly, 106.
yerde, *sb.* rod, stick, 149.
yeve, *v.* give, 223.
y-falle, *p.p.* fallen, 25.
y-go, *p.p.* gone, 286.
yive, *v.* give, 223.
y-lad, *p.p.* led, carted, 530.
y-like, *adv.* alike, 592.
ymages, *sb. pl.* astrological figures, 418.
y-nogh, *adv.* enough, 373.
yonge, *adj.* young, 7.
yow, *pr.* you, 73.
y-preved, *p.p.* proved, 483.
y-purfiled, *p.p.* trimmed, 193.
y-ronne, *p.p.* run, 8.
ys, 3 *s. pres.* is, 524.
y-shadwed, *p.p.* shaded, 607.
y-shryve, *p.p.* shriven, 226.
y-teyd, *p.p.* tied, 457.
y-wympled, *p.p.* covered as to the neck, wearing a wimple, 470.

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